# THE APOLOGIE OR DEFENCE, OF *THE MOST NOBLE* Prince *William*, by the grace of God,

Prince of ORANGE, Countie of Naſſau, of Catzenellenboghen, Dietz, Vianden, &c. Burgmaiſter of Antwerp, & Vicoût of Bezanſon, Baron of Breda, Dieſt, Grimberg, of Arlay, Nozeroy, &c. Lord of Caſtel-bellin, &c.

*Lieuetenant general in the low Coũtries, and Gouernour of Brabant, Holland, Zealande, Vtrecht and Friſe, & Admiral, &c.*

Againſt the Proclamation and Edict, publiſhed by the King of Spaine, by which he proſcribeth the ſaide Lorde Prince, whereby ſhall appeare the ſclaunders, and falſe accuſations, conteined in the ſaid Proſcription, which is annexed to the end of this Apologie.

PRESENTED TO MY LORDS THE Eſtates generall of the lowe Countrie.

*Together with the ſaide Proclamation or Proſcription.*

Printed in French and in all other languages.

AT DELFT

1581.

# THE APOLOGIE
## OR
# DEFENCE OF
## THE MOST NOBLE
## Prince of Orange, by the grace of God,
## Prince of Orange, Marquis of Veere, Count of Nassau, &c. Hereditary Stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, &c. Governor and Admiral of Utrecht, &c.
## Lord Protector of Friesland, &c.
## PUBLISHED TO MY LORDS THE
## Estates of the Low Countries.

Together with the Publ. Proclamation or Proscription.

Translated into English and all other Languages.

AT DELFT
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# ¶ A copie of the Letters which my Lord the Prince of Orange, sent vnto the Kings and Potentates of Christendome.

(*)

SIr, I doubt not, but that your Maiestie hath bin aduertised of a certaine Proscription, which the King of Spaine, hath appointed to bee published against me, because he hath caused the same to be spread abroad in all languages, and hath sent it also into diuers quarters of christendome. I and all my verie good freends haue thought, that I could not sufficiently defend mine honor (which I am aduised and purposed not to hazard or indaunger for anie thing) but by setting a iust defẽce, against this vniust Proscription. In regard whereof, I haue presẽted vnto my Lords, the estates of these countries, my aunswere: which aunsweare also (for the maintenance of mine honor and reputation, amongst the Princes & Potẽtates of Europe, who in respect of their preheminences and dignities, are the succours of poore Princes and distressed noble men) I haue bin bold to send vnto them, and to you (Sir) particularlie, most hũblie beseeching your Maiesty, that, after you haue seene it, you would yeeld like iudgement thereof, as it hath pleased my Lords the Estates, who haue bin most faithfull witnesses of all mine actions, to do, and to esteeme and iudge thereof also (as it shall please your Maiestie to take knowledge of it) by their aduise and counsell, which also is annexed to my said defence. And because (Sir) your Maiestie may thinke it strange, that the King of Spaine, hauing heretofore violently taken from me all my goods, after that I had put my gouernementes into the hãds of the Dutches of Parma, thẽ the Gouernesse of this estate, & had withdrawen my selfe into the coũtrey of Germanie, the place of my natiuitie, where I kept my selfe peaceablie among my brethren, kinsfolkes & freẽds, as also I had fully purposed so to continue: and that, hauing at the same time, conueyed or caried away from the scholes, my sonne the Coũtie of Bueren, and both contrary to the priuiledges of the countrey & against his owne othe, causing him to be caried prisoner into Spaine, where he is as yet cruelly kept captiue: & besides hauing procured me to be condemned to death, by the Duke of Alua his owne officer: because (I say) your Maiesty may thinke it strange, that for

al theſe reaſons (which were neuertheleſſe verie great & waighty) I haue not hitherto publiſhed any defēce, which was directed to the ſaid King, or might directly concerne him, which thing notwithſtā-ding I do at this preſent and declare therby, that the faults, where-with the King of Spaine mindeth to charge me, belōg vnto himſelf. I do therfore moſt hūbly beſeech your Maieſty (Sir) that before you iudge of this my writing, you would conſider, the quality both of the crimes & faultes, wherewith I am charged by this Proſcription, & alſo the qualitie of mine owne perſon. For, if the King of Spaine was content to withhold frō me my ſonne & my goods, which he hath in his poſſeſſiō, & further to offer (as at this preſēt he doth) fiue & twēs tie thouſād crownes for my head, and to promiſe to make ſuch noble as ſhould murther me, & to pardon them all the faults whatſoeuer that they could haue committed before that time: no man ſhoulde think it euil in me, that I haue attempted by al the meanes I could, (as in deed heretofore I haue done) to preſerue my ſelfe and myne, & to inable my ſelfe what I could, to enter againe into that which is mine owne: & that I haue followed that order and courſe of life that I haue done. But further the King of Spaine, hauing al the world thorow publiſhed, that I am a publike plague, an enemie of the world, vnthākfull, vnfaithfull, a traytor, & a wicked perſō: theſe are ſuch iniuries (Sir) that no gentlemā, no though he were of the baſeſt of the king of Spaines naturall ſubiects can or ought to endure: in ſo much (Sir) that though I were one of his ſimple and abſolute vaſſals, who oweth homage vnto him by honour, yet ſo it is, that by ſuch a ſentence, & ſo vniuſt in all and euery part thereof: I alſo hauing bin by him ſpoyled of my lāds & Lordſhips, in reſpect of which, I ſhould heretofore haue takē anothe vnto him, I might haue held my ſelfe abſolued & free from all my bands towards him, & haue aſſaied alſo (which thing euen nature hath taught euery one) by all the meanes I could to mainteine mine honor, which ought to bee to me and to a.. noble men, more deare than life and goods. Notwith-ſtāding, ſeeing it hath pleaſed God, to ſhew me this great grace, that I am borne a free Lord, not holding of anie other but of the Empire, as do the Princes & other free Lords of Germanie & Italie: and further ſeeing that I beare the title, and haue the name of an abſo-lute and free Prince, though in deede my Princedome bee not verie great: yea what ſoeuer it be, I not being his naturall ſubiect, neither hauing held anie thing of him, but by reaſon of my Seignuries &

Lordſhips,

Lordshipt, of which notwithstãding he hath wholly dispossessed me: it hath seemed vntõ me, that I could not defẽd mine honor, & satisfie or content my neare kinsfolks, sundry Princes (to whõ this is my honor that I am lincked) & my whole posteritie, but in aunswering by publike writing to this accusatiõ, which in the presẽce of al christẽdome, is published and set out against me. And though I haue not bin able to do it, without touching his honor, I hope notwithstãding (Sir) that your maiesty wil impute it, rather to the inforcemẽt, that the quality & hainousnes of this Proscriptiõ hath layde vppon me, than to my nature or will. For as cõcerning this point, that some mẽ may thinke it strange, that I do after this sort defend my selfe, seeing that I haue sometimes heretofore held of him sundry landes & Lordships, for aunswere thereto, I will most humbly beseeche your Maiesty, to consider the hainousnes of the iniurie, that is done me, which a right noble man wil neuer in deed abide: also that I am not his naturall subiect, &, as concerning my fees and pensions, that he hath spoyled me of thẽ. But suppose that I had alwayes enioyed thẽ: yet so it is, that the same law which he vseth towards others, should not be denied to me. He holdeth of the French King in loyaultie & homage, & euen as the vassal doth of his Lord, the Countie or Earldome of Charollois: & yet for al that he ceasseth not, to make warre against the crowne of Fraũce, yea he neuer leaueth of cõtinually to practise and deuise, somewhat against the same. He taketh this as a sure fourdation or rule, that, being a soueraigne gouernor in some other place, it is lawfull for him, to reuenge him selfe of the wrong, which he pretended was done vnto him, by the late French King Hẽrie of most noble memorie. When hee made warre against the Pope Caraffa, because as a vassal he held of him the kingdomes of Sicilia & Naples, he published his defẽce, by which he maintained, that he was absolued from his othe, because that the Pope kept not himself, within the termes or points that the lord oweth to his vassal, according to the feodall lawes, which are mutuall, & respect as well the one, as the other. Now (Sir) there is not nothing so natural or kindly, as, that euery one should in his owne cause, receiue the very selfesame rule & order, that he would haue another man to receaue or allow of. Wherfore he should not thinke it strange, that I, being so manie wayes reuiled & iniuried by him, and not being his subiect, that I, I say, do aide my selfe, with the meanes that God hath giuen me, and with which he hath bin willing to helpe him selfe against his Lords,

In the letter lent to the Frẽch King, it is written: He holdeth of your Maiesty.

who haue not offended him in anie thing whatsoeuer, that draweth nigh to the wrong which I haue suffered at his hand: yea he shoulde not thinke it straunge, that I vse against him that reprochfull note, by which he assayeth to marke as it were in the forehead, both mee and my race.

And because my Lords the estates, (who haue more nighly knowen the trueth of all that is cõtained in this my defence, & haue approued the same) haue yeelded vnto mee sufficient testimony inough touching my life past: I do most humbly also beseech your Maiestie (Sir) in approuing this same mine aunswere, to beleeue that I am not, either a traytour or wicked person, but that I am, (thanks be to God for it) a noble man, of a very good and most auncient house, yea a good man and true in euerie thing that I promise, not vnthankefull, nor vnfaithfull, nor hauing committed anie thing, whereby a Lord or Knight of my state and countenance, may receiue anie reproch or shame: most humblie beseeching you, to holde and account me, in the number of your most humble seruauntes. And thus hauing most humbly submitted my selfe vnto your Maiestie, I will pray God (Sir) to giue it, together with perfect health, a most blessed and most long life. At Delft in Holland, the iiii. day of Februarie 1581.

Your Maiesties most humble and obedient seruaunt.

WILLIAM OF NASSAV.

A decla-

# ¶ A declaration made by my Lorde the Prince of Orange, to my Lordes the Eſtates Generall of the lowe Countries.

MY Lordes, yee haue heeretofore ſeene a certaine ſentence in the forme of a Proſcription, which was ſent by the king of Spaine, & afterwards publiſhed by the appointment & order of the Prince of Parma: & how by the meanes thereof, myne enemies haue againſt all right and reaſon attempted, greeuouſly to touche and taint myne honor, & to cauſe my former actions, to be thought euill and wicked: wherein I haue bin very willing and deſirous, to take the aduiſe and counſell of ſundrie notable perſonages, and men of great name and calling, yea of the principall counſellers and wiſe men of this countrey. But by reaſon of the qualitie and forme of the ſaid Proſcription, and the haynous and greeuous crimes wherewith I am charged, although in deede wrongfully, I haue hitherto ſtayed: notwithſtāding I haue bin aduiſed and counſelled by ſundrie my freendes, that I cannot otherwiſe defende mine honour, but to ſhew by publike writing, howe vniuſtly I haue bin accuſed and charged with manie faultes: and alſo howe I haue bin openly iniuried, and maliciouſly ſlaundered. According to which aduice & counſell (my Lords) ſeeing that in this worlde, I acknowledge you only for my ſuperiors, I offer vnto you this my defence, written againſt the reprehenſions of mine aduerſaries, by which I hope that I haue not only diſcouered all their deceits & ſlaunders, but alſo lawfully iuſtified, all my actions paſt. And becauſe, that their principall marke and purpoſe is, to ſeeke out all the meanes they can, to take away my life, or els to cauſe mee to be baniſhed out of theſe countreis, or at the leaſt, to diminiſh the authoritie which it hath pleaſed you to giue mee, as if obtayning that thing once, all ſhould fall out as they would wiſh it: & on the other ſide, becauſe they ſlaunder me, that by vnlawfull meanes I keepe and hold my authoritie, I beſeech you my Lords to beleeue, that albeit I be content to liue amongſt you, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God, and to continue towardes you my faithful ſeruice: yet notwithſtāding, that mine owne life, which I haue dedicated to your ſeruice, and my preſence in

in the middeſt of you, are not ſo deare vnto me, but that I can moſt willingly abandon and forgoe my life, or elſe withdrawe my ſelfe out of the country, when you ſhall thinke or know, that eyther the one or the other may any maner of way ſerue your turne, to purchaſe vnto you a more aſſured libertie. And as cõcerning the authoritie which it hath pleaſed you to giue me, you knowe my Lordes how manie times I haue beſought you, to content your ſelues with my ſeruice, and to vnburden me thereof, if you ſhould thinke that it would ſtande well, with the good eſtate of your affaires, which thing euen as yet I do demaunde of you, offering notwithſtanding (as I haue alwaies done) in all that wherein it hath pleaſed you to commaunde me, ſtill to continue to employ my ſelfe in the ſeruice of the coũtrey: in regard of which I eſteeme nothing of al that is in the worlde, as I doo more largely declare the ſame vnto you in this my defence. Which if you ſhall iudge it conueniẽt, I beſeeche you to thinke it good, and to take care, that it may be brought to light and publiſhed, to the ende, that not only you (my Lordes) but alſo the whole worlde may iudge, of the equitie of my cauſe, and of the vniuſt dealing of mine aduerſaries.

Preſented by my Lord the Prince of Orange, to my *Lordes the Deputies of the Eſtates generall, and of the Prouinces vnited together, being aſſembled in the towne of* DELFT, *the xiij. of December.*

1580.

*Vnderneath was written,*

II. HOFFLIN being preſent.

The

# The answere of my Lordes the Estates generall, made to the former declaration.

THE Estates general, hauing not many dayes since, seene and read a certaine Proscriptiõ, published by the enemies, against your Excellencies person, by which they charge the same with hainous crimes, indeuouring to make it odious, (as though by vnlawfull meanes, and indirect wayes, it had vsurped the place and degree, wherein it is sett and established) and to deliuer your sayde Excellencies person ouer for a parte, and to take from it the honour thereof: hauing in like sorte seene and viewed, a defence sett out by your Excellencie, against the said Proscription, finde, by the trueth of that which hath passed in these countries, and which is knowen and manifest also, to euerie one of them, in respect of them selues, that the saide crimes, faultes, and reproches, haue vniustlie bin laide vpon the same. And as concerning the offices, as well of Lieutenaunt generall, as of the particular gouernemẽtes, they affirme that his excellencie, yea eũ then, when he was lawfully elected & choseñ, did not accept thẽ, but at our instant requeste, in which also he hath cõtinued at our intreaties, and that with the sounde contentment & satisfaction, of the whole countrie: and the saide Estates doo yet againe beseech him, that it wonlde please him to continue therein, promising him all aide & assistance, without sparing anie of the meanes they haue, & also to yeelde vnto him readie & willing obedience. And because they knowe, the faithfull seruices, that your excellencie hath yeelded to these countries, and those also which they hope, in time yet hereafter to come, you will performe: they offer vnto him, for the assurance of his person, to maintaine a companie of horsemen for the sauegarde thereof, beseeching him to accept it on the behalfe, and at the offer of those persons, which thinke themselues muche bounde to the preseruation thereof. And so much as toucheth the

*ſaide Eſtates (who thinke themſelues alſo charged by the ſaide Proſcription) they minde ſhortly in like ſorte to iuſtifie themſelues, ſo farre foorth as they ſhall thinke it conuenient. So concluded in the aſſemblie of my Lordes the Eſtates generall, in the towne of Delft, the xvij. day of December. In the yeere of our Lorde, 1580.*

By the expreſſe determination of the ſaide Eſtates.

Signed I. Houfflin.

An Apo-

# AN APOLO-GIE OR DEFENCE,

*of my Lorde the Prince of Orange, Countie of Nassau, of Catzenellenboghen, Dietz, Vianden, &c. Burchgraue of Antwerp, and Vicount of Bezanson, Baron of Breda, Diest, Grimberghe, of Arlay, Nozeroy, &c. Lord of Chastelbellin, &c. Lieutenant generall in the lowe Countries, and Gouernour of Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Vtrecht, and Frise, and Admirall, &c.*

Against the Proclamation and Edict, published by the King of Spaine, by which he proscribeth the said Lord, whereby shall appeare the slaunders and false accusations *contained in the said proscription.*

*THis is the thing which I haue al-*waies praied vnto God for (my Lordes) and desired withall my hart, that he would graunt it me, from the time that I vowed my person, and all the meanes that I haue in the world, for the recouering of your libertie, and the safetie of your persons, goods, and consciences: if I saye, I should at any time haue preferred, that which respecteth my self particularly, before your health & wealth generally, that I might in this behalf, beare an eternal punishmēt, which I should haue drawē vpon my selfe, by my owne good will & accorde: But on the other side, if that which I haue done heretofore, hath bin by me attempted & takē in hand, only for the preseruatiō of your estate: & that I haue borne, a great parte of the burthen of this present warre, only for the common safegard of the countrey: and that the hatred conceiued by certaine wicked persons, against the countrey, against godly people &

honorable perſonages, hauing bin for a certaine time diſſembled and couered in their hearts, commeth wholly and that at once, to vomit and caſt vp it ſelfe vpon me only, rather then vpó ſo many good people, & ſpecially vpon the general eſtate of the common wealth: then I ſaye this hath bin the thing that I haue greatly deſired, that, if my good will had bin ſuche towardes you (my Lordes) your children, your townes and communalties, as in deede it hath bin, I might one day carie away, a ſolemne teſtimonie thereof, as well for the peace of mine owne conſcience, as for the defence of mine owne honor, before all the people of the earth, & before all poſteritie. And nowe I do greatly reioyce my ſelfe, and yeeld immortall thankes vnto our good God, & I haue great occaſion of contentment and quietneſſe, ſeeing that hee ſuffereth me to bee made ſo rare, and ſo noble, and ſo excellent a marke thereof, by this cruell and barbarous Proſcription, yea ſuche a one, as the like hath not bin heard in theſe countreis, commended amongeſt all people & nations, for their ſingular and incredible courteſie. For albeit that nothing be more to bee wiſhed of a man, than the raſe and courſe of his life, to bee founde, bleſſed, proſperous, and vpright, without anie daſhe, blowe, ſtumbling, or any wicked incountring: notwithſtãding if all things had fallen out vnto me, as I would haue wiſhed, and that I had not incountred, with the hatred of the Spaniſh nation and his adherents, I ſhould haue loſt the gaine of this teſtimonie, which my very enemies haue yeelded me, & which I take to be the moſt excellent flowre of glorie, that I had bin able to haue deſired, to haue byn crowned with, before my death. For what in this worlde can be more acceptable, and that ſpecially to him, who hath enterpriſed ſo great and excellent a worke, as is the libertie of ſo good a people, oppreſſed by ſo wicked people, than to be deadly hated of his enimies, yea ſuch enemies, as are with all the enemies of the countrey, & by their owne very mouth & confeſsion, to receaue a ſure teſtimonie, of his faithfulnes towardes his owne people, and of conſtancie, againſt tyrants and diſturbers of cómon peace? in ſo much, that the Spaniards and their adherents, thinking

in deede to do me diſpleaſure, haue done me many pleaſures, as by this infamous Proſcription, they haue thought to hurt me more than before, and yet they haue made me more reioyce, and giuen me more contentednes of minde. For I haue not onely thereby receiued that profit, but they haue opened vnto me a more large field to defend my ſelf, then I durſt euer be bold to deſire, that ſo I might cauſe all the world to know the equitie & iuſtice of my enterpriſes, & by it leaue vnto my poſteritie, an example of vertue meete to be followed by all thoſe, that would not diſhonour the nobilitie of their aunceſters, from whence we are deſcended, & of whom, not ſo much as one onely, hath at any time fauoured tyrannie, but all they haue loued the libertie of the people, amongeſt whome they haue borne office and had authoritie. I haue no occaſion to cõplaine, that I haue not had heretofore, matter large inough to ſpeake of my ſelfe, and to reproue the foule and haynous faultes of myne enemies: but neither would ſhamefaſtnes ſuffer me my ſelfe to ſing and ſet out myne owne prayſes, which ſurely is a hard matter not to do, whatſoeuer modeſtie a man pretend in ſuch a matter: neither would publike honeſtie permit me, to enlarge my ſelfe to rehearſe the faultes of mine enimies, liking much better to burie ſome part of their greeuous enterpriſes vnder ſilence, than in publiſhing them (albeit in trueth) to caſt my ſelfe into danger, to incurre the ſuſpition to be a ſlaunderer. Seeing than (my Lords) that in this Proſcription, the queſtion is not onely to taxe any perſon, and barbarouſly to make it a pray, but alſo it is knowen to euerie one, that by my woundes, they mind to wound the commõ wealth and the ſtate of all theſe countreis: as alſo this is no more now performed, by ſmall diffamatorie libelles, made by people of no account, and whoſe iniuries done againſt me, ſhould no more moue me, than the tounge of ſome litle ſerpent, which a man muſt rather breake in peeces with his foote, than indeuour to fight againſt it with weapons: but that men of ſo great coũtenance, ſhould ſo farre and ſo vilely debaſe their greatnes, as to buſie themſelues, falſlie to backbite and to ſlaunder, it hath ſeemed vnto me altogether neceſſarie to ſpeak, to the end

that our common countrey (for which I am readie to giue vp my life, as I haue alreadie loſt my goods) may not feele her ſelf damnified or hurt by my ſiléce, & that on the other ſide, theſe famous titles, of ſo many Countreis & Kingdomes, ſtretching themſelues ſo farre as ouer Affrica and Aſia, may not daſel the eyes of many, who iudge the affaires & matters of this world, rather by ſhadowes, appearaunces, and outwarde ſhewes, than by ſtrength and ſoundnes of reaſon. I knowe notwithſtanding all this, that thoſe which perſecute me, haue in many pointes aduauntage againſt me, and principally in two points: the one is, that they make a ſhew and boaſting, of their great qualities and eſtates, which do infinitely exceede my condition: the other (which is alſo a naturall thing to all men) willingly to opē their eares to euil ſpeaches & ſlaūders: for I haue oftentimes heard, the moſt elegant of all the Poets, to haue very well ſaid, that there is not in any feaſt any ſawce ſo ſweete, to the pallet of the mouth, as euill ſpeache and backbyting is to the eare: and on the other ſide, that nothing is hearde ſo much againſt the heart, and with ſo great griefe, as the ſpeache of him that prayſeth him ſelfe. Of theſe two points, that which bringeth pleaſure is giuen to mine enemie, and I haue for my ſhare, that which is harde and vnpleaſaunt almoſt to the whole worlde. But I hope, that by the meane of your fauour and vſuall good will, that neither the one nor the other, ſhal bring me any loſſe or hurt, ſeeing that ſo it is, that this long time ſithence you haue tried, that theſe great and famous States, if they be ſpotted and tainted with tyrannie, can not gaine much of free heartes and noble courages. And on the other ſide, knowing the ordinarie trade and courſe of my life, who loue not more to blame an other man, than to prayſe my ſelfe, yet if it ſo fall out that I do, either the one or the other, as it is a very harde thing not to doe ſo (albeit that it ſhal be with the greateſt modeſtie that I can) and if there be any thing that may ſeeme not very ſeemely, it ſhalbe long to you (my Lords) to attribute the fame, rather to the neceſſitie ſo to doe (whiche mine enemies haue laide vpon me) than to my nature, and by that meanes to vnburthen me, and to laye the faulte wholly, vpon their owne

ſhame-

ſhameleſneſſe & importunitie. And I will pray you (my Lords) to remember, that I am falſly accuſed to bee *vnthankefull, vnfaithfull, an heretike, an hypocrite, like vnto Iudas and Cain, the diſturber of the coũtrey, rebellious, a ſtranger, an enemie of mankind, the publike plague of the Chriſtian common wealth, a traitour, & a wicked perſon, that I am ſet out to be ſlaine as a beaſt, with reward to all murtherers, & to all poyſoners which will attempt the ſame,* leauing you to iudge (my Lordes) whether it bee poſſible to purge my ſelf from ſuch ſlaũders, without ripping vp in ſome matters, the ordinarie courſe of my life, & without exceeding my cuſtome, in ſpeaking of my ſelfe and other men. In the meane while, I am ſo aſſured of the iuſtice of my cauſe, and of my ſoundnes and faithfulnes towards you, and on the other ſide, of your equitie and roundnes, and of the knowledge that you haue, howe & after what ſort all things haue paſſed, that I demaund no other thing of you, but onely that you woulde iudge, and take notice of this matter, and determine thereof for your owne good, health, and preſeruation, that which the lawes, freedomes, liberties, and priuiledges of the Countrey, commaunde you, according to the hope that the people hath of your wiſdome and vprightnes: which thing alſo I pray you to do, yea I earneſtly beſeeche you, by al holy & ſacred things, and that by the othe and band which you beare to the countrey, certainly aſſuring my ſelfe, that as in many other matters I am leſſe than mine enemies, ſo that I ſhalbe in this behalf ſo much the more their ſuperiour, as that by all meanes & crafts they haue purpoſed to violate, breake, & ſuppreſſe your lawes, your priuiledges, and liberties: whereas on the other ſide, I haue with a good heart and all faithfulnes, imployed my ſelfe to maintaine & preſerue the ſame. And albeit (my Lords) that I am not in ſuch ſort an enemie, to my renowne & own good name, but that I take delight and pleaſure (as alſo I hope my actions and deedes deſerue the ſame) to bee in good account among al the Princes, Potentates, and common weales of the world (excepting onely amongſt the Spaniards & their adherents, who perſeuering in the purſuit of their tyrannie, I deſire not either grace or fauour, or any frẽdſhip at their hands) not

withstanding, seeing that you are the men only in this matter, to whō I haue takē an oth, to whom alone I coūt my self boūd who alone also haue power to approue or improue my acts & deedes: I shall hold my selfe very well satisfied, when on your part I shall haue receaued a testimonie cōformable & agreeable to my intents and purposes, which haue alwayes bin ioyned with your good, profit, and seruice: and I shall patiently suffer other people and nations, to iudge thereof according to their passions and affections, or rather (which thing also I more desire) according to equitie, right, & iustice, hauing first put of al preiudice, and freed their own vnderstandings from the thick cloudes of these greatnesses and glory, which might heretofore haue somewhat dazeled them.

Nowe if mine enemies (my Lordes) had come directly, to the point and matter of the Proscription, setting out the reasons, vpon which is grounded, this barbarous sentence (which sentence in deede doth ouer much declare their minde verie base and much degenerating from the vertue and courage of their aunceſtors) I had not vsed likewise any circuites or compasings of wordes, but had at the verie entrie declared, both what with mine own innocencie is, & howe weake & ruinous their foundations and ground workes are. But seeing that to make me odious, they haue better liked, to set, euen at the entraunce, before the eyes of all the worlde, a heape of iniuries, and in the course of this speech, without purpose to interlace them, speaking so shamelesly of mee: I suppose that it is necessary, yea in deed most iust, that I answere to such slaunders, to the ende that some being mooued or perswaded by suche words, may not yet receiue this my defence, with a heart more estraunged from me, than the law allowed amongest people, and iustice it selfe requireth.

As concerning then this heape of iniuries, by which I am so shamelesly rent in peeces, & which being taken out of this Proscription, nothing shall remaine therein but a smoke: you see (my Lordes) howe plaine and without painting coulours the defence is that I vse, If you knowe me to be such a one, as mine enemies publishe me to be: if I carrie either in my bodie or

die or in my ſoule, ſuch colours as the forger of this writing ſaith, that he hath painted me out withall (for my Lordes yee haue knowne me from my youth, and I haue not ſpent my age els where, but with you) ſhut immediatly your eares, & refuſe to heare or vnderſtande, ſo much as one worde comming out of my mouth. But if on the other ſide, I haue all my life thorowe, bin more honeſt, more ſounde, more continent, and leſſe couetous, than the authors of this ſlaunderous writing, and then he, which hath publiſhed the ſame, to wit, the Prince of Parma and his predeceſſors, whoſe factes are ouerwell knowne by hiſtories: if I ſay, you haue knowne me and mine aunceſtors, more vertuous people than theſe (for I ſpeake not as yet of the King) and their aunceſtors, then beleeue, that as they falſely ſlaunder at the very entrance, ſo they ſhall bee no more meete to be beleeued, in all the reſt of their ſhameleſſe accuſations. For, to what ende I pray you, ſerueth this recitall of ſo many iniuries, but onely to ſhewe vnto the worlde, that my enemies are ſkilfull to ſlaunder and backbite, and that he, whom yet thorowe Gods goodnes, they haue not bin able to murther, neither by poyſon, nor ſword, nor yet to deceaue by promiſes, nor yet buſie him with vaine and vncertaine hopes, they do aſſay at the leaſt to woũd him, with the venim of their tongue, accuſtomed euen from their youth to ſo infamous an occupation?

They at the beginning make a recitall, *of many good turnes which I haue receiued frõ the Emperor, in reſpect of the ſucceſſion, of my late Lord the Prince of Orange my coſen, that the King made me of his order, Lieutenant generall in the gouernment of Hollande, Zelande, Vtrecht, and Burgundie, and one of the counſel of Eſtate.* To what ende are theſe thinges alleadged? to declare that I am greatly bounde to the houſe of Spaine, and that I cannot ſhunne this, but that I muſt be condemned of ingratitude: and moreouer, that by reaſon of the othe that I had taken, and of the landes and Lordſhippes, that I holde in homage of the ſaide Lorde, I am bound to procure, the profit and aduauncement of his affaires and matters, thinking to make me likewiſe culpable and faultie of vnfaithfulnes. Vere-

Of the good turnes which ſome ſay, the lord Prince hath receaued of the Empe-ror Charles.

Accuſation of ingratitude.

Accuſation of vnthankfulnes.

ly I confesse and agree, with the King and the whole house of Spain, that nothing is so much to be cõdemned in this world, as a man defiled with these two spots & staines, to wit, of vnthankfulnes and vnfaithfulnes, and he that hath spoken these two iniuries to a man, he hath said as much to him & against him, as if he had charged him with all the accusations & flaunders, that wise people and fooles, discreete and vndiscreete, could rake togither: and specially looke, by how much a Lord is of a more noble and famous house, by so much the more shall he be dishonored, if he can be conuinced of these or such faultes: and I refuse not to be hated of all the worlde, to bee rooted out of the earth, and that the memorie of me & mine shoulde bee withered for euer, if I may be founde such a one. But that shalbe with this condition also, that if I declare, that there is no prince in the worlde, more vngratefull and vnkind towards a poore Lorde, than he that accused me and woulde condemne me, is against me and mine: that the vnfaithfulnes also which he hath vsed in respect of me (for I wil not yet speak of the opẽ violating of his faith towards the coũtrie) is incredible, that then (I say) hee also may be subiect to the like condition and state, and may beholden for such a one as hee is, amongest all liuing people, and all posteritie to come: and I shall thinke the punishment more great in his behalf, than he thinketh any in myne, as may appeare by that, which hee maketh shewe to seeke for by this tragical Proscriptiõ, the which thorowe Gods grace and goodnes, doeth no more astonishe me than a vaine vision or dreame. First (my Lords) I protest, that the remembraunce and memorie of the Emperor Charles, shall alwayes be in an honorable account with me, as well because of his actes, as that it pleased him, to shew me so much honor, as to haue nourished me in his chãber, by the space of nine yeeres, to whom also I yeelded & performed, most faithfull and most willing seruice. But if he, who by reason is most bounde of all men to maintaine his renowme, come to accuse me of ingratitude and vnthankfulnes, as, that I haue not acknowledged the good turnes, which he saieth, that I haue receaued of the Emperour: I beseeche you to holde me excused,

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if being cõstrayned for the defence of mine innocencie, I declare, in respect of good turnes alleadged, that I haue not receiued any at all from him, but that in doing him seruice, I haue receiued most great losses, as you shall playnely vnderstande, if it please you to heare me patiently.

An answeare to the accusation of ingratitude,

Nowe then he saith, that in respect of the succession of the late Lord, the prince Rene my cosin, the Emperour handled me fauourably. But wherein? First, there was neuer any Lorde as yet found so euil aduised, that would pretend right against mee for succession, in so much that if the Emperour hath not hindered me in that, what hath he done for me, that a iudge, the greatest enemie I could haue, would not haue done likewise? Was there yet anie partie founde so rashe, that durst offer him self to speak against it? And though I had had aduerse parties, if my right were so cleare and so well grounded, that nothing was euer yet hitherto able to be alleadged against it, which was able to darcken it, or to shake it: and that hereupon the Emperour had giuen forth a decree for my profitt, what hath he done for me, but administred me iustice, and would not take from me that, which the lawes, reason, and verie nature it selfe did giue me? But if it please you (my Lords) to consider the nature and qualitie of this succession, you shal finde my right and title to haue bin such, that the Emperour could not haue depriued me of it, or takẽ it from me, without an extreame iniurie, and a most manifest wrong.

The succession of Nassau and Challon,

There were in the succession, two principall members or braunches: The first was, that which came by our house of Nassau, which my Lordes my predecessors, the graundfather and great graundfathers, vncles by the fathers side, and cosen germaine by the fathers side, enioyed: that is to saye, the goods which at this day belong vnto me, in Brabant, Flaunders, Hollande and Luxenburgh: the other was, the succession of the house of Challon. As concerning the succession of Nassau, which men commonly call Breda, because it was the principall place of my Lordshippes, and where I and my predecessours had helde our chambers of accountes, counsell, & principall instructions pertayning to vs and ours, who was he

that might moleſt me in that, vnleſſe it were my Lorde my father, who was the vncle, and I the couſin germain, of my Lord the Prince Rene, the only ſonne of my Lorde Henrie, Countie of Naſſau, my vncle, and the brother of my Lorde my father? But ſo farre of is it, that I was hindered in that ſucceſsió, by my ſaid Lord and father, that he himſelfe tooke paines to come & ſollicite the matter, that I might be put in poſſeſsion thereof: neither was there euer founde man ſo ſhameleſſe, that woulde ſet himſelfe againſt it, but Schoore the Preſident or iudge, who in the counſell ſaide, that the ſonne of an heretike ought not to ſuccede, becauſe that my Lorde my father, following the examples of good Kings, as of Dauid, Ioſias & others, had reformed the Churches of his countries, which he helde & had in Germanie, and had purged them from abuſes, according to the worde of God, and that by the permiſsion and ſufferance of the Emperour. And notwithſtanding all this, the counſell ceaſſeth not to giue aduiſe, & to determine the matter according to reaſon and equitie, as in deede it could not otherwiſe do, ſeeing that they had mainteined my Lord the Countie of Kingſtain myne vncle in the ſucceſsion of the Countie of Rocheforte, although that he himſelfe were a proteſtaunt. Seeing then that this was in queſtion (if that may be called a queſtió, which was in our owne houſe, as whether that the ſucceſsion aforeſaid, were adiudged to the father or to the ſõne, pronoũced notwithſtanding always according to the laws) none beſide could iuſtly pretend any right therete.

The Barronies of Burgundie & of Daulphine,

As concerning the houſe of Challon, firſt it cannot be ſaide in reſpect of the Barronies which I peaceablie holde and poſſeſſe in the Dutchie of Burgundie, and in Daulphine of Vienna, that I am therefore bound to the Emperor, for he had not any more power therein than I, all being vnder the power of the Frenche King, who a like ſeaſed, the Countie of Charrollois, apparteyning to the Emperour, and my Barronries, when warre was mooued betweene them two, in ſo much that I can not be otherwiſe bounde vnto him therefore, but in this, that I was conteyned in the treatie of peace made at Seſſons, which was the laſt duetie that he could yeelde, to the

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memorie of my Lorde my couſin, who but a litle while before died, in the ſame expedition, and that on foote, at the ſiege of Saint Diſier, after ſo many deedes of armes done for his ſeruice. And leſſe hath hee bin able to fauour me in my Princedome of Orange, where he had nothing to ſee too nor to do, no neither he, nor anie Prince, whatſoeuer, I my ſelfe holding the ſame in a naked, bare, and abſolute Soueraigntie: which thing fewe other Lordes are able to ſaie. And there is no Prince in reſpect of my ſaide Princedome, whoſe amitie and good grace I ſtande in neede of, but of the French Kings, who I hope will not touche that, that belongeth to a poore Prince, who is his moſt humble ſeruaunt, becauſe reaſon ſuffereth not that, beyonde which reaſon he will not go, and alſo becauſe of the loyall and faithfull ſeruices, that my predeceſſours haue done to the Crowne of Fraunce, and the Dutchie of Brytannie (whereof he is deſcended and is the heire) with great daungers of their liues, great expenſes, and infinite trauailes. Princedome of Orange,

There remayneth then that which belongeth vnto me, in the Countie of Burgundie, and wherof, I haue bin ſo long time, ſo vniuſtlie and tyrannouſlie ſpoyled and diſpoſſeſſed, which by meanes of lone and borrowing, yeeldeth vnto me, euen to this preſent time, to millions at the leaſt of loſſe. But I woulde in the firſt place, that they ſhould remember, wherefore the Countie of Burgundie, is called Franck or free, to wit, amongſt other reaſons, becauſe that the freedome and libertie of the Lordes, and ſuch as holde poſſeſsions in the ſayde countrey, is, that they haue power, by will to bequeath and to diſpoſe of their goods, howe and to whom, they ſhall thinke good, without being either for their wiues or their children, or other heires whatſoeuer inforced, otherwiſe to diſpoſe of their goodes, but in ſuch ſorte, as ſhall bee agreeable to their owne will and pleaſure. Seeing then that ſo it is, that my Lorde the Prince Rene, moued of his owne good will, did (without anie other reſpect that he had to me, who was at that tyme a younge childe liuing in Germanie, vnder the power and diſcipline, of my Maiſters and Gouernours, Poſſeſsions in the Franck or free coũtie.

and he hauing no other reſpect but that I was his couſin germaine) did, I ſay, appoint me his general heire, which thing alſo he did, according to the power that he had, euen by the lawes and cuſtomes of the countrey: I ſaie that if I ought to yeelde thankes to any, it is to the memorie of the ſaide Lorde Prince, who being the eldeſt of our houſe, ment alſo, that as I ſhoulde ſucceede him in the order of age, ſo I ſhoulde come in like ſorte to ſucceede him in his goodes and poſſeſsions. I perceaue not then as yet, euen to this preſent time, that I am anie thing at all bounde for this ſucceſsion, to the houſe of Spaine, neither is there anie man in the worlde, that can ſaie it with trueth.

The graunt

But the Emperour gaue a graunt vnto the ſaid Lord Prince, by will to bequeath it, to whom he ſhoulde thinke good: and by the power of that graunt the Prince choſe me for his heire. This (my Lordes) maketh very much for me, and can at no hand ſerue mine enemies turne. For whē the Emperour yeelded to the graunt, he knewe not who ſhoulde be nominated heire by the Prince, neither was it knowen of any man, vntill the day of the opening of the will, which was done in the preſence of Marie the Queene, after the death of the ſaide Lorde Prince: in ſo much that the Emperour cōſenting to the graūt, ſeeing that his purpoſe was not to aduaunce mee, I doo not thinke my ſelfe to be bounde vnto him, becauſe the fauour which was ſhewed vnto the Prince (which notwithſtanding euerie meane perſon whatſoeuer, may eaſely obtaine, by ordinarie letters out of the chauncerie) was not ſhewed on my behalfe, or in reſpect of me. Beſides, to iudge of the graunt, by that which afterwardes inſued therevpon, ſhould be to iudge againſt the rules, which ſo oftentimes I haue heard the Emperour repeate, who ſaid, that Counſels ought to be examined, liked or diſliked, by the cauſes and not by the effectes. But let vs put the caſe, that he had not had the graunt, yet nothing was appointed by the will of my Lord the prince Rene, but according to the lawes, as hath bin before ſaid.

Teſtament militarie.

But what will they anſwere, when beſides all theſe reaſons, I ſhall ſay vnto them, that the teſtament or will of my Lorde

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my coſen is a militarie teſtament (which thing alſo they cannot gaine ſay nor darken) yea, and that made, with very great ſolemnitie, rype iudgement, and in good ſeaſon: made I ſay, & grounded, by expreſſe termes and wordes, vpon this, that the ſaide Lord Prince (who had before felt, what were the daungers of warre, in ſo many expeditions taken in hande for the Emperours ſeruice) was nowe on the way, to go to a warre ſo daungerous, and that with ſo great a Prince as King Frauncis was. And though I be not a great doctor in the lawes, yet ſo it is, that I do verie well remember, that I haue heard ſundrie learned perſons diſputing of this matter, in the preſence of my Lord my father, who affirmed, that not onely militarie teſtamentes or willes, but alſo little ſcrippes or ſcrolles, to be of ſuch value & force, according to the lawes of the Empire, that if a man of warre, or a ſouldier, had before his death made or giuen the leaſt marke of his will, yea the leaſt ſigne that a man can imagine or thinke of: as if hee had but traced or drawen with his blood vpon his targett, his name whom he will inſtitute, ordaine, and appoint, to be his heire: or with the print of his halbert, or of his ſword, had writtē the ſame on the groūd, that that decree of his laſt will, is inuiolable, and to be preferred before all other ordinance, according to the auncient priuiledges of thoſe, which are honored with the warlike chaine or choller. Howe much more then was this priuiledge, dew to ſo valiaunt a Prince, & to ſo noble a Knight? For the queſtion is not heere, of ſome one ſimple marke or other, but heere is a teſtament or will well & aduiſedly made, and that not in haſte or by a ſimple ſouldier wounded, and being readie to die, but by a vertuous Prince, and one worthie of immortall honor, aſſiſted by his counſell, and ſomewhat forwarde in his waie towardes the expedition, and the thinges bequeathed not to a ſtraunger, but to his couſin germaine, and not to an importunate flatterer, but to a young childe being verie far off from the Emperours armie, which went to beſiege Saint Diſier, & purpoſed to do the ſame euen to Paris. But here is an ordinaunce I ſaie, made not without the knowledge of the Emperour, but by his owne graunt, yea an ordinance according to the lawes

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and customes vsed in all places. This then being so strong, it was not in mans power to reason against it, and much lesse to make it voide, vnlesse by some one way or other, which should haue bin ouer tyrannous, and which (it may bee) might haue brought more hurt than profit, to the renowne and credit of the Emperour, specially if hee had ment to offer any other thing than reason. And as there haue bin amongst my predecessors some, who haue indeede founde meanes and wayes, to cause vniust and vngrateful persons, who kept their goods and possessions from them, to yeelde them the same: so I hope, that God will yet shew me this grace, to haue a blessed issue against him, who hath vniustly spoyled mee of my goods, and would barbarously take from me my life also. But seeing that I am inforced, yet to speake of the succession, I would faine haue some tel me, whether the Emperour suffering me to inioy the succession, hath giuen it me of his owne or no: for if I haue receaued nothing from him, but that which before apyertayned to my Lord the Prince Rene, I perceaue not how the king can in any manner vpbraid me, that either he, or the Emperor his father, haue giuen me any thing, vnlesse this be liberalitie, to giue largely of an other mans goods.

But on the other side, albeit that at this present time, I saye nothing of the wronges that haue bin done mee in the saide Countie, in which I haue such rights and preheminences, and whereof they haue spoyled me, and whereof I speake nothing at this time, leauing to debate and reason therof, till armes & weapons shall haue yelded me more reason, than the iniustice of him that keepeth all from me: this I must needes speake, I had no sooner taken holde of the succession of the Seignurie or Lordship of Castel-bellin, but I was euen assoone spoyled therof, which is of so smal value, that at this present there are due vnto me, three hundred fiftie thousand pounds of arrerage, by reason thereof. And this is the heape of iniustice that they charge me with, if I haue done any. The Emperour was requested by my Lord my father, that at the least I might, according to the lawes, be first restored vnto the possession, in which my predecessor had bin, but he would not suffer it: only

The Lordship of Castel-bellin.

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he suffered me (being notwithstanding spoyled) to follow my right by iustice and lawe, wherein he left me at the least, some gapp, because he did not let me, from debating my right against him, when the cause was called forth to the parliament of Malines. But the sonne (who notwithstanding dare vpbraide me with his good turnes) seeing the cause readie to receiue iudgement, the very selfe same day that the processe and controuersie should haue bin cleared, & the aduise of the President and Councellours was alreadie registred, and I had aduertissement giuen me, to seeke and prouide for siluer for the Iudges fees: he I say, forbad his courte to proceede any further, and left the processe hanging vppon the hooke or file, where it remayneth yet to this present. You see (my Lordes) that iustice was well ministred by him which had sworne the same to me, and to the Barons of this countrey. And these be the great aduauntages and profits, that I haue receiued from the house of Spaine: this is the foundation and groundworke of al their reproches, and vpon this is this infamous frame or building of proscription, stayed and setled.

But if on the other side, I shoulde come largely to laye out, howe much the house of spaine is bounde to my predecessors (for concerning my selfe I will as yet say nothing) I am afraide to enter into so great a sea, which I can not passe ouer in many monethes, wherefore I will touche onely the principall matters, leauing vnto you my Lordes and to the readers, the particular searching and finding out of the saide boundes, in the histories and auncient recordes of this countrey.

He that of the house of Austriche, first came into the lowe countreis, and that a long time after that my predecessours helde therein, both Counties and Baronnies, was the Emperor Maximilian, then Archduke of Austriche. Nowe who knoweth not, that the Countie Engelbert my great vncle, was he who maintayned and vphelde the saide Emperour, imploying his goodes, his life, and his witt, for the preseruation of him? Was it not the Countie Engelbert, together with my Lorde of Romont, that obtayned the victorie of Guinegaste, hauing by his courage kept the footemen together, when as the horse-

My Lord Engelbert Countie of Nassau.

men had broken the rancke and order, by meanes whereof, the great conqueſt of King Lewis the eleuenth was ſtayed and let, which thing did afterwardes, aſſure Maximilians ſtate and condition? Was it not he, which vpon his returne out of priſon out of Fraunce, found Maximilian wonderfully troubled in Flaunders, againſt my Lord of Rauеſtain, and thoſe of Bruges, who alſo preuailed ſo much by armes and by counſel, that a truce and concluſion was made, who was once againe the cauſe, to vpholde and mainteine the ſaide Archduke, and who in like ſort cauſed the accorde made with the inhabitaunts of Bruges, to be mainteined, whereof euen yet at this day, there do remayne notable markes and tokens, both of his fidelitie, and of the thankfulnes of the inhabitaunts of Bruges? It is the verie ſame Engelbert, that ſubdued thoſe that rebelled againſt him, about the borders of the Rhine, & eſtabliſhed the ſaide Emperour quiet in his countreis of Oultremeuze: that I may ſpeake no more of the dangerous voyages attempted for the ſaid Emperor, as that voyage into Brytan for the treatie of marriage betweene the ſaide Lord Archduke, & the Ladie Anne heire of the Dutchie, and afterwardes twiſe Queene of Fraunce, which matter he ſo well followed, that all was agreed and further proceeding ſhould haue bin made therein, ſauing that my Lord Iohn Prince of Orange, father of my Lord Philibert, daſhed all, and procured the marriage of the ſaid Ladies couſin germaine, with Charles the French king. And the merites and valures of the ſaide Lord Countie, were in thoſe countreis ſo great, that he was made Lieutenaũt general thorowe out the lowe countrie.

The ſaide countie Lieutenaunt generall from the time of Duke Charles,

The ſucceſſour and heire of the ſaide Lorde Countie Engelbert, and of his goods which he had in theſe countreis, was my Lorde the Countie Iohn of Naſſau, his brother, and my great vncle, and after his death, there ſucceeded him my Lord the Countie Henrie my vncle, the eldeſt ſonne of the ſaid Lord Countie Iohn, and his heire in the goodes and poſſeſſions he had here in Brabant, Luxenbourg, Holland and Flaunders: and my Lorde the Countie William my father, was his heire, in the goodes and poſſeſsions which he had in Germanie.

My Lorde Henrie, countie of Naſſau,

No

No man can denie, that in his time there was anie Lord in all theſe Countries, who laboured more in the ſeruice of the Emperour Charles, than he. And to the ende, I be not ouerlong in reciting that which is ſo well knowne, I will onely in a worde tell you, that it was he, that put the imperiall crowne vpon the Emperours head, hauing ſo earneſtly followed this matter, euen then, when the Emperour, in reſpect of his young age, & by reaſon of his abſence (for he was in Spaine) was not able to purſue the ſame, that he perſwaded the Princes Electours to preferre the Emperour before the Frenche king, who earneſtlie laboured to obtaine the ſaide election. And as euerie one knoweth, that this imperial crowne was the bridge, which afterwards made a paſſage to the Emperor, to obtaine ſo manie conqueſtes: ſo none can denie, but that the acknowledgement thereof, ought to be giuen to the ſaide Lorde Countie. But can anie man ſhewe me at this preſent, ſo muche as one marke or note of recompence, or one onely good turne that our ſtock hath receiued from the houſe of Spaine? Men may ſee in ſundrie places of theſe countries, peeces of ordinaunce, with the armes of Hungarie vppon them, which the King of Hungarie gaue to my predeceſſors, in teſtimonie and remembraunce of that their vertue & ſtrength, which they had imploied and ſhewed in their ſeruice againſt the Turkes, certaine of which peeces were violently taken from me, & caried away by the Duke of Alua, out of my houſe of Breda, when he played the tyrant in this countrey, and yet ſome of them remaine there to this day. Which thing I put downe to declare, that ſo long as theſe peeces ſhall laſt, ſo long alſo ſhall the notes and markes of my anceſtours vertue indure, & there ſhall remaine alſo, a notable teſtimonie which the King of Hungarie hath giuen them. But, as my predeceſſours haue bin ſo noble, and by the grace of God, & the good gouernmẽt of their things, were neuer yet poore: ſo they neuer yet demaũded any thing of the princes of theſe coũtreis, neither yet receaued any thing as of free gift, and yet I am ſure, that the imperiall Crowne at the leaſt, deſerued ſome one recompence or other. I confeſſe that the ſucceſſion of Challon, and of the princedome of Orange,

range, was a great increase vnto our house, but if we be bound to any for that, truly it is to the great King Frauncis, who gaue in mariage to the Lorde my vncle, the sister of my Lorde the Prince Philibert, the daughter of my Lorde the Prince Iohn, who was nourished and brought vp with Queene Anne, the Graundmother of the said Lord king, & whose cousin the said Princes was. And thus you heere see (my Lordes) the honestie and good behauiour of this Monarche of Fraunce. The Emperour got and receaued his crowne by the paines and trauayles of my vncle: Frauncis the King (who knew all, that the saide Lorde had done, for his Competitor, that is, for him that sought to be Emperour as well as he) ceased not for all that, to giue him this Princesse in mariage, who was not the supposed heire only, but the verie heire in deede of my Lorde the prince Philibert, the saide king confessing, that he ought not to bee displeased with him, who had constantly followed that parte which he tooke vpon him to followe: In so much that I may say of him, as the Historiographers of his time said, that it was an assured testimonie of a noble and liberal hart in the prince.

The prince Rhene,

And albeit, the Emperor had graunted some thing, to the memorie of my Lord the Prince Rhene, & that (according to the last appointment) he had graunted some extraordinarie priuiledge and benefit vnto his will: should this I beseech you be a sufficient recompence, yeelded to so faithful and so excellent seruices as he had perfourmed, who was so valiant and so courragious a Prince, & had done for him so manie duties, hauing by force of armes, not onely recouered for the Emperour the damage of a battaile lost, but also hauing againe cõquered for him the Dutchie of Gelderlande, and in fine he himselfe yeelded vp his spirite at the Emperours feete, and that for his seruice?

What shall I neede to speake of Prince Philibert, who alone obtained for him Lombardie, and the kingdome of Naples, and with my Lord the Duke of Burbõ, assured him of the state of Rome, and tooke the Pope for him as a prisoner: and to be shorte, hath giuen him a heape of all excellencie and blessednesse? And yet now his sonne will come, reproching there-

membraunce of ſuch Princes, and will ſaie, that the Emperor hath executed iuſtice to their ſucceſſor and couſin. Nowe if they of Naſſau had not liued heretofore: if they of Orãge, had not done ſo many deedes of armes, before that the king was borne, he would not haue put ſo many titles in the beginning of this Proſcription, by which he doth falſlie & ſlaunderouſlie pronounce me a trayterous and wicked perſone, which as yet neuer hath fallen out, and I hope neuer ſhall fall out in anie of my race. But let them aunſwere me, by whoſe commaundement the Cardinall of Graundvelle, impoiſoned the laſt Maximilian the Emperor, whileſt he was the King of the Romans, I know what he tolde mee concerning that matter, and that afterwards he was ſo afraide of the King and the Spaniardes, that he was altogether feareſull, to make profeſſion of that religion, which he knewe notwithſtanding to be the beſt.

An obiection touching the benefites and honours beſtowed by the king of Spaine vpon the ſaid Lord Prince.

Hee proceedeth and ſaieth, *that he hath as it were in order of ſucceſſion, continued and increaſed more and more my ſtate and countenaunce, hauing made me of his order, afterwardes Lieuetenant generall in the gouernment of Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Burgundie, of his counſell of Eſtate, and that he hath beſtowed vpon me ſundrie good turnes and honours.* As concerning benefites, I cannot at any hand confeſſe it, vnleſſe a man will call the great expences that I haue bin at, aſwell for the ſeruice of the Emperour, as of the King, benefites. For they which liued at that time, and ſpecially in the kings time, may well remember, howe the Court alwaies was greatly accompanied, with the nobilitie of ſundrie and diuers nations, and for the moſt part, with the nobilitie of Germanie. Nowe, euery one knoweth, that my houſe lay alwayes open, and that ordinarelie I was to make the diſcharge and defraying of all charges, bearing the expences of the Court, with a very litle allowaunce and order, that was made on the Kinges behalfe. Euerie one knoweth alſo, the great and exceſſiue expences, that I was of neceſſitie to bee at in the voyage, in whiche both againſt my will, and likewiſe againſt ſundrie proteſtations made to the Emperour, and alſo to the Queene of Hungarie, I was conſtrained, to carrie the Crowne of the

Empire to Ferdinando the Emperor, and hereunto I was the more vnwilling, becauſe it ſeemed not reaſonable vnto mee, that I ſhould carrie from my Maiſters head the crowne, which in times paſt had bin ſet thereupon by my predeceſſors. After this, I made the voyage into Fraunce, wherein I was ſent for one of the pledges, appointed for the eſtabliſhment and execution of the peace made at Chaſteau in Cambreſis, whiche brought vnto me alſo great expences and extreeme charge, in ſo much that I can in theſe three points (vnto whiche adde alſo the charges that I was at, in the laſt warres, & ſpecially thoſe at the towne Phillippe and Charlemont, where I was general) verely aſſure you, that I ſpent more then fifteen hūdred thouſand Floreins, and yet notwithſtanding, the chamber of account or Exchequor, may eaſily aſſure men of this, that I neuer had ſo much as one farthing, in recompence for theſe ſeruices: yea that being Lieuetenant generall of the armie, I did not receaue for all charges, but three hundred Floriens a moneth, which was not ſufficient to pay the ſeruaunts that pitcht my tentes: yea alſo if the Queene of Hungarie were yet a liue, ſhe could well remember, that which ſhe ſpake vnto me, when the Emperour (perceauing himſelfe to bee in the greateſt extremitie that euer he was, partly by the power of Duke Maurice, and of William the Lantzgraue, and partly by the powers of the Frenche King) made the peace of Paſſau, with as great loſſe to our houſe, which ſerued him with our great loſſe and charges, to preſerue the Empire for him, as it had before obteined the ſame for him. For, albeit in an open aſſemblie of the Empire, the Emperour, being by the aduiſe of the Electours ſet in his throne and Imperiall ſeate, had iudged, & that by a definitiue ſentence, that we ſhould haue the Countie or Earledome of Catzenellenboghen, with more than twoo millions of Florins for arrerage, he made notwithſtāding his peace with our loſſe, putting, by the agreement of Paſſau, our aduerſe parties in the poſſeſſion thereof without any recompence giuen to vs. Which thing I propound not at this preſent, to ſtirre vp againe any contention, ſeeing that our houſe hath ſince that time, agreed, with the moſt famous houſe of

The peace of Paſſau,

the Lantzgraues of Heſſen, whoſe good kinſemen and ſeruauntes we are: but to the end we may make the whole world to vnderſtand, the great benefites that we haue receiued, from the houſe of Spaine, and that euery one may knowe, who it is that by good right is to be taxed for ingratitude and vnkindnes. And this (my Lordes) is not the like firſt parte that they haue ſhewed vs. For my Lord the Prince Rhene, being at that tyme the eldeſt of our houſe, purſuing ſo courageouſly the warre of Cleue lande, the Emperour promiſed him, that hee woulde neuer conclude peace, with the Duke of Cleue lande, but vpon condition, that he ſhoulde leaue vnto vs peaceablie, the thirde parte of the Dutchie of Iuilliers, which appertayned vnto vs, by the ſucceſſion of my Lord, the Countie Iohn of Naſſau my great vncle, & Margaret the Counteſſe of Iuilliers and of Marck: notwithſtanding, perceauing him ſelfe to be the Conquerour, he made peace with him as pleaſed him, forgetting that this victorie, was obtayned to his handes, by the trauayle and valiauntneſſe, of my ſaide Lorde and couſin.

Peace made with my Lord the Duke of Cleue,

As concerning the honours, which he ſayeth he hath done me, I will neuer denie, as I haue ſaide heretofore, but that the Emperour did greatlie honour me, whileſt he nouriſhed me & made me of his Chamber, by the ſpace of nine yeeres, and afterwardes in my two firſt warres, hauing appointed me & giuen me charge ouer all his ordinaunce, in theſe countreis. And albeit, that I was not then one and twentie yeeres olde, yea though I were abſent from the Court, at my Lordſhip of Bueren, notwithſtanding (the Duke of Sauoie attempting a voyage) the Emperour him ſelfe choſe me for generall of the armie, albeit that the Lordes of the Coũſel, yea & the Queene hir ſelfe, did preſent thereto ſundrie other perſons, whoſe capacitie and vnderſtanding was verie great, as my Lordes the Counties of Bouſſu, of Lalaing, Martin van Roſſem, olde Knightes and Souldiers, and the Coũties of Arenbergh, of Meghem, and of Egmont, who was twelue yeeres elder then I. All this notwithſtanding, albeit that no man named me, (as afterwardes they affirmed to the Emperour) by reaſon of my youth,

The honours.

My Lord the Prince made generall of the armie at the age of xxi. yeeres.

youth, yet so it was, that it pleased the Emperour to chuse me, for the reasons which then he declared, & which the Queene of hungarie, inforcing me to take the charge vpon me, caused me afterwardes to vnderstande, which also I like better for this present time to conceale, than to declare, least I might seeme, ouermuch to prayse, prise, and esteeme my selfe. I saye yet more, that it pleased the emperour (my Lordes) then to cause me to come from the campe, when hee declared vnto you, the will and purpose that he had to put ouer his kingdomes, into the handes of his sonne the King, and it pleased him yet further so much to honor me, that he would not perfourme this solempne act in my absence, yea he presented him selfe amongest you in your assemblie, leaning vpon me by reason of his infirmitie, which thing sundrie at that time thought was a verie great honour vnto me. But be it so, that since that time, the King had bestowed vpon me some honours, yet I can not see, howe after any sorte he can preuaile or get anie thing thereby, seeing that contrarie to all right and reason, yea contrarie to his owne othe, he hath gone about to take them from me.

As concerning the order, if the Emperour and the Colledge or companie of the Knightes thereof, haue giuen me their voyce, I am no more bounde to him therefore, than to other Knightes, seeing it was necessarie for him to allowe of that, which the Colledge approued, euen as he him selfe knoweth, that we, in the last assemblie of the order, holde in these countreis, did, by pluralitie of voyces, without his aduise, and against his will, chuse sundrie Knightes of the order, and caused them so to be receiued and accepted. But be it, that I were indebted to him therefore, yet so farre of is it, that hee may reproche or vpbraide me therewith, that on the other side, he him selfe is to be therefore greatly charged. He hath sworne and it is also contayned in the pointes that concerne the order, that the Knightes of the order, shoulde be iudged by their brethren, that is, them of the same order. Verely, it was neuer in the power of Duke Phillippe surnamed the Good, to inforce my Lorde Iohn of Luxenbourg, to forsake the othe which

The priuiledges of the order.

which he had made, to the King of Englande, the ſaide Lorde of Luxenbourgh, committing the determination of the matter in controuerſie betweene them, to the Colledge and companie of the Knights of the orders. But the brethren, which the King hath appointed to my Lordes, the Counties of Egmoût and of Hornes, to the Marques of Bergues & of Montignie, for their triall, were porters, petiefoggers, and people of no account, by which alſo he hath cauſed me to be cõdemned, againſt all order and courſe of law, euen as I haue heretofore proteſted, and haue alleadged the inſufficiencies thereof, in the preſence of all Europe. In ſo muche, that hee himſelfe hauing done againſt his owne othe, and againſt the orders and articles of the Colledge or companie, hee is at no hande to bee hearde, in ſuch reproches as theſe are, wherein there are founde the ingraued markes, of his owne othe being violated and broké. And beſide, if I ought to yeeld thanks to anie of the order, for the gouernmentes and other dignities that I haue, it muſt be to the Emperour, whoſe minde it was, & who had ſo decreed the ſame, before he would depart out of this coũtrey, hauing before knowne the duties that I had performed, & my faithfulnes, namely in reſpect of my ſeruices yeelded, in the gouernmẽt & guiding of his armie, wherein I haue for witnes, my Lord of Neuers, and the late my Lorde of Chaſtillõ Admiral of Fraũce, who in deede made vs afterwards to know, that he was our aduerſe partie: all which notwithſtãding, they gained nothing (thanks be to God) vpõ me, but I builded in deſpite of their beards, the towne Phillip, & Charlemõt, albeit that the plague, did very ſtrõgly afflict our army.

As concerning the gouernmẽt of Burgũdie, I can certainly aſſure al mẽ, that I haue not receiued any thing, but that which my predeceſſours haue at all times maintained, as appertayning vnto them by inheritance, and in deede my Ladie Philibert of Luxenbourg (my Lorde the Prince Philibert hir ſonne being in Italie) cauſed the Eſtates of Burgundie to aſſemble and meet, in the Towne of Noxeroy. And becauſe that ſome thought it not meete and conuenient, becauſe my ſayd towne was vpon one of the Frontiers of the Countie of Burgundie,

The gouernement of Burgundie.

ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe ment to maynteine the poſſeſsion, of the Lordes of the houſe of Challon, who were by inheritance Gouernours of the Countie of Burgundie. But be it whatſoeuer it be, the behauiours of the King towards me doe ſufficiently declare, that he cannot obiect vnto me theſe honours, which againſt all rules of honor, he goeth about to take from me, together with my life and goods, hauing by violence taken from me mine owne Sonne, againſt all law, either of God or man, yea againſt the priuiledges of the countrie, which hee ſware to obſerue at his glad entraunce into it.

Counſellor of the eſtate.

As concerning the charge and office of the Counſellour of Eſtate, I haue ſufficiétly inough declared in my defence made heretofore, in the yeere ſixtie ſeuen, that the Cardinall and others practiſed this matter, that I might bee called thereto, thinking thereby to cloake and couer themſelues, onely with my authoritie before the people, and therefore I ought not to thinke my ſelfe bound vnto them for this, becauſe, that in doing this they ſought not ſo much myne aduauntage, as their owne profite. But if they be deceaued of their hope, they muſt attribute it, either to their owne want of capacitie, as not being able wiſely inough to order and direct their enterpriſes, or els (which in deede is more true, for they did not want wit & vnderſtanding) that their wickedneſſe was growen ſo great, ſo apparaunt, and ſo palpable, that no man was able to indure them, but that they were caſt out of the countrey, as a venime or poyſon, yea as a publicke plague.

Of the laſt mariage of the ſaide Lord Prince.

Nowe, for as much as they haue not onely directed themſelues againſt my perſon, accuſing me of vnthankefulnes and vnfaithfulnes, but euen as rage and madnes doth equally bite the whole world, as wel the innocent as he, whom men iudge culpable: ſo their petulancie, and diſorder hath bin ſo great, as that they haue deſired, to touch & taint the honour of my wife, by the blame which they ſuppoſe to lay vppon my laſt mariage: I knowe not, whether I may iudge them more to be condemned in impudencie, or in beaſtlines, whileſt that theſe ſkilfull men, who boaſt them ſelues to bee ſo good painters, know not as yet to practiſe that leſſon, which is ſo often ſaide

and

and repeated, by the meaneſt ſchollers that be, that is, that he that prepareth himſelfe to ſpeake euill of an other man, ought to be exempted from all crime and faulte. For this argueth great impudencie and raſheneſſe, if men knowe their notable faultes, and yet will notwithſtanding paſſe ouer their owne thornes and thiſſels, as if they were roſes: or if they knowe them not, what beaſtlines & blockiſhnes doth this argue, not to perceaue and ſee that, whiche euery houre of a daye offereth it ſelfe, to their eyes and ſight? They ſee euery day before them an inceſtuous king, which is one only halfe degree, nigh vnto Iupiter, the huſbande of Iuno, his owne ſiſter, & yet they dare reproch me, with a holy, an honeſt, and a lawful mariage, made according to Gods word, and celebrated according to the ordinaunces of the Church of God. And againe I am here inforced to beſeeche you (my Lordes) not to thinke of mee that, which as yet you haue neuer ſeene in me, to witt, that by their wicked ſpeaches, I am moued, to lay open theſe abhominable biles, and to ſet before the eyes of all the world, the benummednes and hardnes of ſuch conſciences, as theſe men carrie, but rather that it would pleaſe you to impute it, to this rage and deſperate madnes of the enemies of God, of the enimies of all Chriſtendome, and your enemies particularly, who are inflamed & ſet on fire againſt me, for no other reaſon, but for this, that they knowe, the great care, diligence, and faithfulnes, that I haue had for your preſeruation. Hee then, that hath maried his Neice, dare reproche vnto me my mariage, a mariage I ſay, verie lawfull and according to Gods order.

He I ſay, dare vpbraide me with my mariage, who (to the ende he might obtaine ſuch a mariage) hath cruelly murthered his owne wife, the daughter and ſiſter of the kings of Fraunce (as I vnderſtande they haue in Fraunce, informations and inſtructions concerning that matter) yea his lawfull wife, the mother of two daughters, the true heires of Spaine, as I doubt not, but that the Crowne of Fraunce (the whiche heretofore hath giuen the Crowne of Caſtille, to a baſtard of whom Philip is deſcended, diſpoſſeſsing a tyraunt thereof, though hee were lawfully borne therto) ſhal haue no leſſe power, to main-

The murther of the Queene of Spaine.

teine and keepe it for the true heires, if God which is a iuſt Iudge, and neuer ſuffereth ſuch wickednesſes vnpuniſhed, doo not take vengeaunce of it in his life time, depriuing him of his eſtate, which thing he hath moſt rightly deſerued, althogh he had not committed anie other faulte but this inceſt, accompanied with ſo abhominable a murther. But you will ſay, he had a diſpenſation for it. From whom? From the Pope of Rome, which is a god in earth. Verely I beleeue that, for the God of heauen would neuer haue conſẽted thereto. But what was the groundworke and foundatiõ of this earthly, heauenlie diſpẽſation? For ſoth this, that he muſt not leaue ſo goodlie a kingdome without an heire: and marke wherefore there was added, to the former horrible faultes, a moſt cruell murther, the father vnnaturally murthering his owne childe and heire, to the ende that by that meanes, the Pope might haue a gapp open, to giue a diſpenſation, for ſo execrable an inceſt, abhominable to God and men. If therefore we ſaye, that we do reiecte the gouernment of ſuche an inceſtuous king, the ſlayer of his ſonne, & the murtherer of his wife, who can iuſtlie accuſe vs therefore? Howe many Kinges haue there bin, which haue bin baniſhed and driuen out of their kingdomes, which had not committed ſuch horrible crimes? For as concerning Don Charles his ſonne, was he not to be in all likelyhood, our Lord and Maiſter? And though the father could alledge againſt his ſonne a iuſt cauſe of death, did not this matter belong vnto vs, who had ſo great intereſt therin, rather to iudge thereof, than to three or foure Friers & Inquiſitors of Spaine? But it may be, that he made conſcience to leaue him for his heire, whom he knewe to be borne in vnlawfull mariage, becauſe that at the time, that hee ſeemed to marrie the daughter of Portugale, the mother of Don Charles, hee was married to the Ladie Iſabella Oſorius, by whome alſo he had two or three children, whereof the firſt was named Don Pedro, and the ſeconde ſonne was named Don Bernardino: of which mariage Rigomes the Prince of Yuoli, if hee were liuing, coulde giue a good and ſufficient teſtimonie, for hee

The murther of the Prince of Spaine.

The mariage of the K. of ſpaine with the Ladie Iſabel Oſorius.

was

was the procurer thereof, whereby also hee obtayned that great credite, and so much goodes in Spaine, the which they doe at this present, vnkindlie sucke and drawe from his widowe, as it were with a sponge. Nowe, if he haue so well behaued him selfe, in that supposed mariage, that mariage also which hee hath made with the daughter of Fraunce, hath not as yet bin more happie. For beside the murther of the Queene his wife, it was also made noble, by an adulterie, excelling all other adulteries, that is, that he kept ordinarie and common housholde with the Lady Eufrasia, who being become great with childe by him, he inforced the Prince of Ascoli to marie hir, and at the ende of a certaine time, the poore Prince (as the ministers of the kinges tyrannie saye) died for griefe, because, that hauing too strong an enemie, he was not able to remedie this, but that an other mans bastarde shoulde be his heire. But they that speake more certainely of this matter, affirme, that he receiued a morsell more easie to swallowe downe, than to digest. And yet he, who is decked with a crowne of three such mariages, being I saye, him selfe three times such a husbande, dare vpbraide and reproche me with my mariage. The adulterie with the Ladie Eufrasia.

But suppose that he were not so defiled, and that we might cõt him for a guiltlesse person, yet for al that I feare him not, as though he were able to reproche me with any faulte, and thankes be to God, I haue not done any thing, but verie aduisedlie, and that by the counsell of sundrie honourable, wise, and discrete persons. Neither is it needfull, that he should trauaile much in that matter, wherein he hath no interest, but to beholde and see, and of which also I am not bounde, to yeelde him any account or reason. For as concerning my wife that dead is, shee was alied to Princes of verie great credite, so wise & honourable Princes, who I doubt not, but that they are fullie satisfied in that behalf, & if I would enter further into that discourse, I could easely make it to appeare vnto him, that the most skilful of his doctors cõdemne the same. As concerning the mariage, by which I am alied at this preset, albeit that hei

make the zeale, that they would ſeeme to haue, to the traditi-
ons of the Romiſh church, a bucklar and defence for their do-
ings, yet ſo it is, that they ſhall neuer make anie man in the
worlde beleeue, that they are more zelous for that Church,
then my lord of Montpenſier, my Lord my father in law, who
maketh not profeſsion of his religion, as the Cardinall of
Graundvelle, and ſuch as he are, do, but as he thinketh, that
his conſcience commaundeth him. And notwithſtanding,
hauing well weighed that, which is alreadie paſt: and hauing
heard the aduiſe of ſundrie principall perſons, of the Courte
of parliament at Paris, aſſembled at Poictiers, for great and
waighty cauſes: hauing alſo heard the aduiſe of Byſhops and
Doctors, he hath founde out at the laſt, (as ſuch is the trueth
in deede) that not onely albeit there had bin a promiſe made
on my wiues behalfe, yet it was none by lawe, becauſe it was
made in the time vnder yeeres, againſt the Canons and the
ordinaunces of Fraunce, and the Decrees of the high Courts,
yea againſt the Canons of the Counſell of Trent, to whiche
myne enemie giueth and yeeldeth ſo great credite: but alſo
that there was neuer anie ſuch promiſe made, but ſundrie pro-
teſtations rather to the cõtrarie, which is apparaunt, by good
informations and inſtructions made, euen in the abſence of
my wife. And although this were not ſo, yet ſo it is, that I am
not ſo litle conuerſaunt in good and holie doctrine, but that
I knowe, that all theſe bondes of conſcience, laide vpon vs by
men, can not be anie bonde at all before God. Neither can
that hinder me which ſome ſaie, that if ſuch a thing were per-
mitted to a Lord of my countenaunce, yet at the leaſt, the Pope
ought to giue a diſpenſation for it. For it is long ſince (God
be thanked for it) that I knowe verie well, of what value is this
trafike of the diſpenſations from Rome: and ſo farr of is it,
that I will haue recourſe vnto him (who euen vnto his pre-
ſent hath procured againſt me all the miſchiefe he could) that
I hope verely, that as this good ſhepheard hath done to me &
to all good people, the worſt he coulde: ſo God will giue mee
grace, to promote the deſtruction of that miſticall kingdome,
which he hath ſet vp in his den of Rome, by meanes whereof,

he

he hath heretofore ruled ouer all the whole earth, cauſing Princes and Kings to kiſſe his pantofle or ſhoe, yea treading vnder his feet the Emperour.

They obiect vnto me alſo, that I am a ſtraunger, as if the Prince of Parma, were a great countrey man, who was not borne in this coũtrey, nor hath not a farthing worth of goods here, nor any title, who yet notwithſtanding, doeth with his white ſtaffe commaunde, certaine verie euill aduiſed perſons, and who yeelde themſelues obedient vnto him, euen as his poore ſlaues. But what do they meane by the terme ſtranger? Verely ſuch a one, as is borne out of the countrey, then if that bee ſo, hee himſelfe ſhall bee a ſtraunger as well as I, for he was born in Spaine, a countrey which is naturally the enemie of the lowe countrey, and I was borne in Germanie, a countrey which is naturally a friende and fellow to this countrey. They will aunſwere, that hee is a King, but I ſaye to the contrarie, that this name of King is not allowed of by mee. Let him be a King in Caſtile, in Arragon, at Naples, amongeſt the Indians, and euery place where hee commaundeth at his pleaſure: yea let him be a king if hee will, in Ieruſalem, and a peaceable gouernour in Aſia and Affrica, yet for all that I will not acknowledge him in this countrey, for any more than a Duke and a Countie, whoſe power is limited according to our priuiledges, which hee ſware to obſerue, at his gladſome entraunce. As concerning that which toucheth my ſelfe, it is plaine and manifeſt, that I and my predeceſſours, from whom I am deſcended in the right male line, haue begun more than two hundred yeeres ago, to poſſeſſe Counties and Barronnies, in the countreys of Luxenbourg, Brabant, Flaunders, & Hollande. For about the yeere, a thouſande three hundred and fortie, my Lorde the Countie Ottho, of whom I am deſcended in the ſeuenth degree, and whoſe eldeſt heire I am, maried the Counteſſe of Vianden, and ſince that time, the Countie of the ſaide Vianden, departed not from our houſe, but wee haue alwayes peaceablie enioyed the ſame, vntill ſuche time, as the king had vniuſtly diſpoſſeſſed me thereof. Afterwardes, my Lorde the Countie Enghelbert, the firſt ſonne of

That the ſaide Lord Prince is not a ſtranger.

the

the ſonne of the ſaide Countie Ottho, maried the Ladie of Leck and of Breda, from whom alſo, I am in the right male line deſcended, and that in the fifth degree. May I therefore by any good right, be called a ſtranger? And that I may ſay nothing at this preſent time, of the goods which I haue in Burgundie, where I haue (thankes bee to God) a very good portion, maie I iuſtly be counted a ſtraunger? And I leaue it to you (my lordes) to iudge, who knowe better our lawes, than anie people of the worlde, howe our aunceſtours haue vſed it, time out of minde, and whether the Lordes of Rauenſtaine, of Luxenbourg, and of Saint Paul, of Neuers, of Eſtampes, and other Lordes, holding Counties and Baronnies in this countrey, were accounted for ſtraungers, and whether yet at this day, you account not as naturalles of the countrey all thoſe, which poſſeſſe ſuch Lordſhippes, ſo that they wil take part with theſe countries: and haue we not for that in deede an expreſſe lawe amongeſt vs, as well in Brabant as in other places? For, as concerning the title of the Duke of Brabant, Countie of Flaunders and others, which he beareth and braggeth of, albeit I confeſſe theſe dignities to be great, yet not withſtanding, if he and his Spaniardes know it not, they muſt learne this, that the Barons of Brabant, with the good townes and cities of the countrey, haue in deede (when the Dukes of Brabant haue ſo farre forgotten themſelues, that they haue paſſed the boundes of reaſon) verie well taught them, what was the power of the Barons, and generally of the Eſtates of the Countrie of Brabant. Nowe it is manifeſt, that I am deſcended from ſuch Lordes, as for ſundrie ages together, haue poſſeſſed the principall Baronnies and Lordſhips of Brabant, Flaunders, Hollande, and Luxenbourg. But I hope, that my Lordes the Eſtates, haue ſo well begunne to declare vnto him, how much he hath failed in his dutie: and alſo that the ſaide Lordes will hereafter take him forth ſo good a leſſon, that the poore people of Sicilia, Calabria, Lombardie, Arragon, and Caſtile, will learne by our example, that this tyraunt ought not to be ſuffered on the earth: yea that the poore people of Granata themſelues, will knowe, how they ought to handle

ſuch a

ſuch a tyraunt, who in the time of the warre with the Moores, cauſed to be impriſoned, about a hundred merchauntes, inhabitauntes of Granata, al of them being Chriſtians, of which the leaſt was worth fiftie thouſand Ducates, and afterwardes, by a hurly burly amongſt the people, cauſed them to be ſlaine, putting into his coffers all the goods of thoſe poore people. And to be ſhort, my Lords the Eſtates (God ayding them) wil teache them, how ſuch muſt be handeled, that wil falſifie their othes made and giuen to ſo good a people, at their ioyful entraunce.

But (my Lordes) if I come to proceede further, and ſhoulde beginne largely to laye out before you, the long time paſt, in which my predeceſſours, had not onely their beginning here, but were alſo Lordes, and poſſeſſed great goods, titles, and dignities in theſe countries, I might ſay vnto you, that at the time that his predeceſſors, were Counties of Habsbourg, and remained in Switſerlande, myne were long time before Lords of the Countrey of Gelderlande, whereof yet at this preſent, there are remaining the armes of our houſe of Naſſau, for the armes of the Duke of Gelderlād, and we haue not (as it were) paſſing by it, kept the ſaide countrey in poſſeſſion, but, after that my Lorde the Countie Ottho, had maried the daughter and heire of the Voght or Regent of Gelderlande (for ſo did men name at thoſe dayes the Lordes of Gelderlande) whiche continued from the yeere 1039. vntill the yeere 1350. my predeceſſours were the Lordes, Counties, and Dukes of the Countrie Gherderlande, as yet euen to this day men maye beholde the Monumentes and markes thereof. And I aſſure my ſelfe, that ſo farre of is it that hee, that calleth me a ſtraunger, can ſhewe ſuch markes, that he had his originall and beginning from theſe Countreis, that on the other ſide his raſe in the ſaide time, was altogether vnknowne, in the ſaide countrey.

The counties of Naſſau, were the Counties and Dukes of Gelderland from the yeere 1039. to the yeere 1350.

And becauſe that he imployeth himſelfe, to make a falſe, fooliſhe, and ridiculous declaration, conteyning as hee ſayeth, the progreſſe and proceedings of my enterpriſe, becauſe that many amongſt you, when theſe matters were begunne,

were not of competent age to vnderſtande the ſame, or els bicauſe you hauing not then intermedled in the publike affaires, could not well ſee howe all things were directed and gouerned by the craft of the Cardinall and his fauourers, and by the counſell comming out of Spaine, which alwaies ment to commaunde this countrey, as it had done others, Spaine it ſelfe being in their opinion the head of our Lordſhippes, and wee their ſubiects and ſclaues, I wil for theſe cauſes recite vnto you, how all things haue bin gouerned, by theſe goodly heads and wiſe braines (who ſuppoſe that the reſt of the worlde are as beaſtes in reſpect of themſelues) vntill they had brought vs within two fingers breadth of our deſtruction, and of a miſerable bondage, if God by his prouidence had not watched ouer vs, and had not deliuered vs from their cruel counſels and bloodie handes. And, as I haue here neede, I do once againe beſeeche you (my Lordes) of your patience, to continue well and quietly to heare me, as you haue alreadie done, & I doubt not, but that as many among you haue ſeene the whole, or els ſome parte of my actes and behauiours, or els haue vnderſtoode it from their fathers, and other good people, whiche haue bin witneſſes thereof: ſo hauing heard me, ye will as eaſily iudge my wordes to bee as true, as thoſe of mine enemie are falſe and ſhameleſſe. I will not (my Lordes) recite vnto you anie thing of that, which I haue ſeene in the Emperours time, not becauſe I did not perceaue ſundrie matters ſet out & practiſed by the Spaniardes, which I approoued not as good, and of whiche I did not ſufficiently conceaue, that the diſeaſe in proceſſe of time, might growe ſo farre, that in the ende it ſhould be verie neceſſarie to vſe, a ſtrong and powerfull medicine, and to purge the countrey, from theſe pernitious and hurtfull Spaniſhe humours. But becauſe I was not able then, by reaſon of mine age and the litle experiéce I had, to knowe the deepe malice of the Spaniardes and their adherentes, I could hardly perſwade my ſelfe, that we ſhould be inforced to bring, a whot yron vnto this cancker of Spaine, or els to come ſo far, as to roote it out. But after that, together with my age, I began to be of a more ſetled and ſounde iudgement, I had in deede

The inhabitants of the lowe countreys counted for the Spaniards ſubiects and ſclaues.

*Nota.*

The naturall diſpoſition of the Spaniards was alwaies cruel, but yet kept vnder for a time, by the wiſdome of Charles the Emperor.

in deede a contrarie opinion, and deliuered the ſame to ſundrie others, which neuer knewe to thinke, that the rage and crueltie of the Spaniardes, coulde proceed ſo farre: for nothing fell out, by which I might haue verie particular knowledge, of their cruell, couetous, and proude naturall diſpoſition, but I certainly and aſſuredly looked for the ſame long time before. I will therefore let paſſe that time, which cometh not alſo at anie hande to be compared, in any manner of diſorder & tyrannie with that, which hath ſince fallen out in the time of the king his ſonne, not that the Spaniardes were then better, than they are at this preſent: for, amongſt the Indies and in other places, where they commaunded abſolutely, they yeelded to euident a proofe, of their peruerſe, naturall diſpoſition, and tyrannous affection and will. But their ambition and pride, was in ſome ſorte reſtrained, by the good affection that the Emperour bare to the ſubiectes of this countrey: & becauſe alſo, that theſe prouinces were full of braue Lords, wiſe and valiaunt men, ſauoring of their auncient nobilitie, (and would to God they had children like vnto them) whiche ſerued in ſteede of a bridle againſt their inſolencie, and of a countermure againſt their pride & raſhnes. I will then come, to the time which inſued, becauſe alſo that he, who was the heire of the goodes, though not of the vertues of the Emperour, is he that cometh to aſſault me, after an order more than barbarous and tyrannicall.

The Emperour of moſt noble memorie, and the Queene Marie, ſeeing their affaires and buſineſſes ſo impaired by the meanes of a cleane contrarie iſſue, of the warres of Germanie (which fell out otherwiſe then the Pope & the Spaniards had promiſed to themſelues) whileſt that the Frenche king, was ioyned in league, with ſome of the chiefe Princes of Germanie, his Maieſtie I ſaye, was inforced to agree with his enemie, his affaires ſtāding in ſuch condition, that deſpairing of his abilitie to keepe his owne countreis, he purpoſed to withdraw him ſelf into Spaine, and there to lead a priuate life; after that he had yeelded vp all his kingdomes, Landes, and Lordſhips, and had laide them vpon the perſon of his ſonne, And albe-

The Emperor diſchargeth himſelf of his kingdomes & Lordſhips, & cōmitteth them to his ſonne.

it, that the King, becauſe of the condition of his owne eſtate, had neede to vpholde his ſubiectes, in good will and affection towardes him, (of which thing alſo he had moſt expreſſe commaundement from his father) ſeeing, that of the meanes and valure that they had, there did wholie depende, the ſauegarde of the countrey, and the maintenaunce of his owne honour: yet, whether it were by reaſon of the nouriſhment whiche hee had in Spaine, or by the counſell of thoſe, which then did, and euen to this time haue poſſeſſed him, I knowe not, he hath alwayes foſtered in his heart, a minde to make you ſubiecte, to a certaine ſimple and abſolute bondage, which they call, a full and whole obedience, depriuing you altogether, of your auncient priuiledges and liberties, that they may diſpoſe of you, your wiues, and your children, and handle you, as his officers haue done the poore Indians, or at the leaſt as they doe, the people of Calabria, Sicilia, Naples, and Millaine, whileſt they remember not, that theſe countreis, are not countreis atcheiued by conqueſt, but come for the moſt parte by the way of patrimonie, or els ſuch as willingly gaue vp them ſelues vnto his predeceſſours, vnder good and lawfull conditions. But it is likely that he did it by the aduiſe of ſuch, as ſerued the Emperour his father, and the King his great vncle, in ſteede of a foundation, the better to reare vp, the building of the kingdomes and Lordſhippes, to which wee ſee, the houſe of Auſtriche hath atteined, it being at this day, without all controuerſie, the greateſt, & the mightieſt of all Chriſtendome. And this affection in him, was not but to much made manifeſt, immediatly after the departure of the Emperour, as if the Lords that then liued, did yet remaine among vs, they coulde yeelde you ſufficient teſtimonie thereof. For euen ſo ſoone as he was cõſtrayned to enter into warr with the French king, cõſidering the power of his enimie, and alſo the wiſe aduertiſemẽts of the Emperor, if he had had but one only ſparke of good & ſincere affection, towards theſe countreis, he ſhould at the leaſt haue mainteined, his ſubiects in good deuotion & affectiõ towards him. But in the middeſt of his great affaires (ſo diſorderous & vnruly was the deſire he had to play the tyraunt) he gaue forth

The Kinges hart alwais enemie to theſe countreis.

amoſt

a moſt plaine & moſt certaine demoſtration of his euill will. The Emperor, who (my Lords) knew better, then any prince or man of the worlde, the arrogãt and proude nature of the Spaniardes, & it may be alſo, the inclination of the king his ſonne, and on the other ſide, the ſtate of this countrey, & whatſoeuer might deſtroy & preſerue it, did ſeriouſly aduertiſe his ſonne, that if he kept his pride of Spaine, he ſhould diligently foreſee, that he were not the cauſe, of the vtter ruine and deſtruction of this eſtate, which could not long ſuffer & endure, this ſame proude gouernment, which the Spaniardes exerciſe in euery place where they can. And he gaue him this exhortation, in the preſence of the late my Lord the Countie of Boſſu, the father of him that laſt deceaſſed, and in my preſence alſo, and in the preſence of ſundrie other Lordes of his chamber, of which ſome are yet at this day liuing. But neither the authoritie and commaundement of his father, nor the profit of his owne affaires, nor iuſtice, nor his othe, (whiche yet notwithſtanding doth keepe in the moſt barbarous nations) were able in anie thing, to moderate and reſtraine, the naturall diſpoſition and affectiõ that he had, to tyrãniſe ouer vs, but on the other ſide, as though he had bin aboue all lawes, priuiledges, and liberties of the countrey, yea and aboue equitie and iuſtice it ſelfe, he hath broken all bondes, that he might outrage in al maner of vnreconcilable hatred and crueltie.

The Emperors' counſel giuen to the King his ſonne.

At the ſame time, you (my Lords) graũted vnto him the aide which was called Nouenale, by meanes of which aide, and by the valiauntnes and wiſe gouernement of the Lords & nobles, of this our countrey, and of ſundrie braue Lords and ſouldiers of Germanie, his affaires were ſo well and ſo bleſſedly guided, that after the winning of two battailes, the taking of townes, and priſoners of great calling, and that in great number alſo, he inforced his enemie, to accept a peace, as vnprofitable for the French king, as it was honourable and profitable for the King of Spaine.

The aide called Nouenale.

And if it bee lawfull for me to ſpeake anie thing of my ſelfe, if hee haue but one droppe or ſparke of gratitude and kindeneſſe in him, hee can not denie, but that I was one

of the principall instrumentes and meanes, to cause him to come to so excellent, and to so profitable a peace, hauing priuately treated thereof, with my Lordes the Constable, Montmoranci, and the Marishall of Saint Andrewe, at the instant requeste of the king, who assured me, that the greatest seruice that I could performe vnto him in this worlde, was to make a peace, and that he purposed to haue it whatsoeuer it cost him, because he ment to go into Spaine. But so farre of was it, that eyther he or his counsell, consisting of Spaniardes, and of certaine other persons of this countrey (who alwaies continued in hatred against you, your libertie and the whole lande) did take in good parte, either this so good an aide, or the happie execution that ensued therof, that on the other side, they iudged this succour and aide, to be a faulte of hie treason against his Maiestie, and for the which you (and aboue all other, the late my Lorde of Lalaing) had incurred, by good right, the sentence of punishment. And why so? Because you (my Lordes) would not agree to anie thing, without the assemblie of the Estates generall, and because you ment, to cutt the talentes of these harpies and Rauenours of Barlemontes, and such like, when you decreed, that the money should be distributed by your commissioners, according to the conditions propounded vnto them. Beholde in deede two great faultes, the one for soth was, to demaunde a meeting and an assemblie of the Estates. For in as much, as it serueth for a brydle and a barre vnto tyrannie, it is a crime, so much the more hated of tyraũts (who are the deuourers of the people, and enemies of their subiectes, and of their owne crowne) as this noble assemblie, is loued, honoured, and reuerenced, of true Kinges, true Princes, and such as are the good fathers of the people, because it is in deede the true foundation of an Estate, the assuraunce of the common wealth, and the onely peace & quietnes of Princes. The other fault will neuer be pardoned, for these byters of the people, liuing with the blood of poore people, haue so long time made account of their theeueries and sackings, that they suppose their spoyles, to be as good, and as an assured reuenewe (yet much more frutfull) as their fieldes and gardens,

The late L. of Lalainge & all the Estates appointed to death by the Spaniardes.

and

and diſſembling the true cauſe of the miſchiefe, whiche they hide from their Princes, they ſeeke pretextes and cloakes in flattering of them, and in lying vnto them, to harden and to ſet on fire, their heartes againſt their ſubiectes. I haue ſeene (my Lordes) their doings, I haue hearde their wordes, I haue bin a witnes of their aduiſe, by which they adiudged all you to death, making no more account of you, than of beaſtes, if they had had power to haue murthered you, as they do in the Indies, where they haue miſerablie put to death, more than twentie millions of people, and haue made deſolate & waſte, thirtie times as much land in quantitie and greatneſſe, as the low countrie is, with ſuch horrible exceſſes and ryottes, that all the barbarouſneſſes, cruelties, and tyrannies, whiche haue euer bin cõmitted, are but ſport, in reſpect of that, which hath fallen out vpon the poore Indians, which thing, euen by their owne Biſhops and Doctours, hath bin left in writing, and, to make the King without excuſe before God & men, the hiſtorie thereof was dedicated vnto him, by one of his owne ſubiectes, in whom there remained, as it ſhould ſeeme, ſome ſmall ſparke of iuſtice. From that time then (my Lordes) I, and other Lordes, and ſundrie of the beſt & wiſeſt perſonages, both of the nobilitie, and of the common people, thought it good, to cauſe (if we could) the Spaniards to depart out of the coũtrey, thinking in deede, that, albeit there were yet remaining ſome corrupt blood amongſt vs, as verily we ſee, there is more remayning then were meet, which did proceede, from this infected race, of the contagion of the fathers, who ſerued at that time, the ambition of the Spaniardes, and followed the Cardinals buſineſſes, yet notwithſtanding, that the better number, and all the Lordes of the greateſt credite and countenaunce, woulde be enemies to this Spaniſhe tyrannie. But, partly thorow other buſineſſes, and partly, by reaſon of my voyage, and the going of ſome other Lordes into Fraunce, whether wee were ſent for hoſtages, as alſo to bee preſent at the Frenche Kinges daughters mariage, the buſineſſe it ſelfe was interrupted, and the performance thereof hindered. Nowe ſo farre of is it (my Lordes) that I will denie a great part of that, which

is ſet

is set out against me, that I account it on the other side, a great prayse for me, and will (it may so fall out) tell you more thereof, than mine enemies know, and the more that they shal write against me, and giue a testimonie of their furie and enuious harte against this countrey, the more will I reioyce herein, that it hath pleased God, to shew me this grace, to be an aider to cut of the course, of this vnmeasurable tyrannie, and by that meanes also, to haue bin an assistaunt, to the manifestation and opening, of the true Religion.

They say, *that frō the time, that the King turned his foote frō these low countreis, I haue by swifter practises, sleightes and subtilties, assayed to gett the good willes of the Malcontentes, & of such persōs, as haue bin greatly indebted, haters of Iustice, desirous of nouelties, & specially of those that were suspected to be of the religiō.*

The loue that the L. Prince hath alwayes born, to them of the religion.

As concerning them that had the knowledge of the religion, I confesse, that I neuer hated them. For, seeing that from the cradell, I was nourished therein, and that my Lord my father, had liued and dyed therein, hauing driuen out of his Lordeshippes the abuses of the Churche: who is he, that will thinke it straunge, that, if this doctrine were after such sort ingrauen in my hart, and had taken such deepe roote therein, it shoulde come in good time, to bring forth hir frutes? For, seeing that I was so long time brought vp, in the Emperors chamber, & being of the age to beare armes, I was euen then presently inwrapped with great charges in armies: for these reasons I say (and considering the scarcitie of good education that we had in respect of religion) it was no marueile, though I had then in my head, the feates of Chiualrie, hunting, and other exercises, which yoūg noble men vse, rather than those things, which concerned my saluation. And yet notwithstanding I confesse, that I haue great occasion to praise God, that he hath not suffered, this holie seede to bee choked, which he him selfe hath sowen in me, and I saye moreouer, that I neuer liked, of these cruell executions, of fier, of sword, of drownings, &c. whiche were at that time verie common, against those of the religion, as the scriuener or painter (for so he nameth him selfe) of this infamous Proscription, calleth them. Wherein, albeit he flat-

ter,

tet,lie,and ſlaunder altogether in other places, hee hath notwithſtanding ſpoken verie well in this behalfe,ſaying, thoſe whom he condemneth to be of the religion,as in deede it only deſerueth this name by excellencie, which thing alſo, the trueth it ſelfe hath wrong from his owne mouth, ſo great is the ſtrength and power of the ſame trueth. But, when as I being in Fraunce,had vnderſtoode by King Henrie his owne mouth,that the Duke of Alua,ſought and ſpake of the meanes,to roote out al thoſe,that were ſuſpected to be of the religion,in Fraunce,and in this Countrey,and thorowe out all Chriſtendome: and that the ſaide Lorde king(who thought, that, as I was one of the Commiſſioners for the treatie of peace,and had had ſpeache with him of ſuche great matters, ſo I was alſo of that religion)had declared vnto me,the groũd of the counſell of the King of Spaine, and of the Duke of Alua,I,to the ende I might not bee, of leſſe eſtimation with his Maieſtie,as though he would hide any thing frõ me, aunſwered in ſuch ſorte,that the ſaid Lord King,was not deceaued in his iudgemẽt,which alſo gaue him occaſion,ſufficiently inough to diſcourſe vnto mee ſomuche, as that thereby I might vnderſtande,the ground of the purpoſe of the Inquiſitors. I confeſſe,that I was at that time,in ſuch ſorte mooued with pitie and compaſſion,towardes ſo many good people,as were appointed to ſlaughter,& generally towards this whole countrey,to which I was ſo much bounde, & into which they ment to bring in an Inquiſition worſe & more cruel,than that of Spaine,yea that there were nets laid,to catch,euen the very noble men & the Lords of the countrey,as well as the cõmon people,inſomuch that they whom the Spaniards and their adherents,were not able to ſupplant by any other way,might fall by this meanes into their hands,frõ whence it was impoſſible to eſcape,becauſe, that a man could behold nothing els, but a very laberinth,whereby they might be condẽned to the fire: I,ſeing I ſay theſe things,do confeſſe,that from that time forwarde,I did earneſtly attempt to helpe to driue out of the countrey,this vermin of the Spaniards,& I do not repent me, that I haue done it,but iudge rather, that I,and my Lords my

The counſell of the King of Spaine and the Duke of Alua,to roote out thoſe of the religion, cõmunicated to the Frẽch king,& by the ſaid L. King,to the Lorde Prince of Orange.

The enterprise of the Lordes, to cause the Spaniards to depart out of the countrey.

companions, which fauoured this so laudable an enterprise, haue done a deede worthie of immortall prayse, and which in deede had bin altogether accõplished, and we by that meanes had atchieued the vpheaped measure of honour, if, after their gripes, we had as well shut the gate against them, so that they might neuer after haue entred in againe vppon vs, as we haue since founde out and had the meanes to purge the Countrey of them. And I say yet somewhat more vnto you (my Lordes) and I wishe that the whole counsell of Spaine, yea that the whole worlde should vnderstande it, that if my brethren and companions of the order, and of the counsell of Estate, had liked rather to ioyne their counselles with mine, then to make so good and cheap a market of their own liues, al of vs would haue imployed, our bodies and goods, that wee might haue hindred the Duke of Alua and the Spaniardes, from entring againe into the Countrey: and I am yet euen at this present content, that they shoulde vnderstande, that, as alreadie one part of the Countrey, is scoured from this filth, in so muche that there is not therein any remembrance thereof, except it bee of their bones: so I will not cease, by the power of God, and by the assistaunce of your fauour, (which I hope will neuer faile me,) to imploye all the power that I haue, with you (my Lordes) to purge the whole countrey in generall, from this vermine, and to cause them and all their adherentes, to passe from hence ouer the Moũtaignes, there to trouble their owne Countreis if they will, and to suffer vs to liue heere, in peace and quiet possession, of bodies, goods, and conscience. Wherefore they are deceaued very much, when they thinke, that I attempted this worke, after their departure out of this Countrey. For I did then, when I was in Fraunce, euen a hunting with the King, whilest they themselues were heere, and I ceased not, till that by the meane, of the late Ladie of Sauoie, of most noble memorie, I had obteined leaue, to come againe into this Countrey, vpon my faith and promise giuen, to returne againe to Reins, at the coronation of King Fraunces the seconde, and being come hither, I prouoked not banckeroutes, but good and honourable people, and of the chiefe &

most

moſt noble perſonages of the countrey, in the name of the Eſtates to demaunde, that the Spaniardes might be inforced to withdrawe themſelues: which thing was at the laſt executed, and the enemies may remember (if they will) who were thoſe good, and honourable perſonages, that brought them that moſt vnpleaſaunt meſſage, who when they ſhall ſhewe themſelues, the aduerſaries ſhall knowe and confeſſe, their impudencies and ſlaunders.

But as concerning that which they ſaie, that I was the principall authour of the ſupplication preſented and offered vp, I will in deede tell you (my Lordes) the whole matter, that is, that hauing once perceaued, that the miſchiefe was growen ſo farre, that there was not nowe any more queſtion, of burning onely the poore people, which ſuffered them ſelues to be caſt into the fire, but, that ſundrie of the beſt nobilitie, and of the principall men among the people, murmured thereat: I fearing ſome daungerous iſſue, as I had ſeene before mine eyes Fraunce it ſelfe to haue endured, a daungerous acceſſe of ciuil warre, for the like occaſion: and doubting leaſt we ſhould be aſſailed in this countrey with the like diſeaſe, which commonly hath moſt daungerous accidentes, and effectes, more harde to heale, than the diſeaſe it ſelfe, as alas we doe ouermuch ſee it at this daye: ſeeing I ſaye, theſe thinges, in reſpect of the bonde wherewith I was bounde by reaſon of my othe, and in reſpect of my duetie towardes the countrey, I beſought my Lordes my brethren, and companions, the knightes & principall Counſellours of the Eſtate, to aſſemble together at Hoochſtraten, with purpoſe to declare vnto them, the apparaunt daunger wherein the countrey was, to witte, of falling into ciuill warre, and that this was the true and onely meane to hinder it, that wee, who by reaſon of our degrees and offices, had authoritie in the Countrey, ſhoulde take the matter into our handes, and ſo to vſe that remedie, which we ſhoulde finde moſt agreeable, for the countreis good, and onely to bring to paſſe, that the Cardinalles creatures (who ſought nothing, but effuſion of blood, baniſhmentes, confiſcation of goodes, and to be ſhorte, woundes and murthers) ſhould not

The requeſt preſented by the Nobility.

deale therin, which had brought an assured destruction to the coũtrey, but rather that those which thought it not meet, that men should burne others according to their accustomed order, should not want a guide, who might lette and hinder him in his attempts. And albeit, I shewed them very many reasons, to cause them to condescende to my counsell, and that I had added thereto (beside the good will which was betweene vs) the aduise also of my Lorde the Countie of Schwartzenbourg my brother in lawe, and the Lorde George van Hol, who had at that time verie great credite with the Lords, for the euident and excellent seruices, whiche they had performed to these countreis: yet it was not in my power to obtaine any thing, & this mutuall fight one of an other, did not profit me any whit at all, sauing for a testimonie to all the worlde, that then, seeing the mischiefe a farre of, which nowe we see present vppon vs, I did seeke all the good meanes I could, to preuent & turne away the same. But they of whom I haue spokē, who thought these persecutions heard, and who saw not so long as they endured, any assured rest in this countrey (which thing alwayes falleth out in such like affaires) began and laboured to propounde and broche newe enterprises, which, by reason of the offices I had, I founde out a meane to discouer: yet for all that, fearing least some most daungerous euent might ensue therevpon, and supposing that this way was the most milde, & verie lawelike or lawfull, I confesse, that I thought it not euill, that the request was presented, which thing so farre of is it, that I mind to dissemble, or coulor ouer, that I count it a most great profit, both for mine owne honor and reputation, and also for the seruice of the King and the countrey, for if the wise Counsellors of the King, had bin so well aduised as to yeelde therevnto, there had not insued so many miseries, by whiche, there wanteth but a litle, but that the whole countrey had bin consumed. But if they desire to knowe, the true & the nigheſt cause of the saide request, and of that which followed therevpon, let them ascribe it to their insatiable crueltie, which was not content, with the intollerable rigor of placardes and licences

tences, but following the example of that foole Roboam, and beleeuing the counsel of an vnwise woman, of a Cardinal the Popes creature, and other such like, they saide, the father hath corrected you with roddes, but the sonne will chastise you with scorpions. Whereupon there was set out, a most earnest pursuite, concerning the receiuing of the newe Bishopps, (who were set vp but a litle while before) that is to say, so manie tormentours, to burne the poore Christiãs, then were the priuiledges troden vnder feete, and by whom? Verely by a passionate woman, who was yet notwithstanding armed, with the visar of a Kings power, and with the treason, periuries and subtilties of a Cardinall. Beholde I say, the stithie or andvile (my Lordes) vpon which was forged all the euill that insued, to wit, because they yeelded not, (as requisite and necessarie it was) to the request presented by the nobilitie, wherein I know, and I may protest it, before God and before you (my Lordes) that I did not therein commit any thing against mine Honor, and mine othe, but I aduertised the Dutchesse, & al the Lords of the Counsell, of the great incõueniences which afterwards fell out, insomuch that all the mischief insuing thervpon, must be imputed to them selues. For so farr of is it, that they would harké to me, that they thought on the other side that they had founde, a matter or meane fit for to execute that, whiche they had a long time purposed and set before them, that is to saye, that after that they had destroied them, that were suspected to be of the religiõ, they might afterwards the more easely bring the rest, vnder a miserable and intollerable bondage. And not only were they admonished by me (my Lords) but also sundry, publike, and particular admonitions were giuen them by diuers others, both good people & louers of the countrey, yea and louers of the King also more then he deserued, and they did in good time aduertise him, of the danger to come, and what was the Kinges duetie, by reason of his othe, of his obligations or bondes, and of the conditions vppon whiche hee was receaued & admitted for Lorde of these Countreis, as also his aunceStours were before him.

The Dutches of Parma, and the Cardinall Granduelle, were the cause of all the mischiefes in the lowe countries.

My Lord the countie Egmond himselfe, was sent into Spaine,

to ſhewe the ſaid aduertiſements, vnto the Kings own perſon, which notwithſtanding ſo farre of was it that it coulde profite anie thing, that the ſaid Lord Countie on the other ſide being deceaued, vnder the color of the worde of a King (which afterwards coſt him verie deare) brought letters altogeather contrarie to that, which the King from his owne mouth, had giuen him in charge to ſpeake, in ſo much that then he was inforced to confeſſe, that I did before his iourney well foreſee, that which ſhould come thereof. And yet theſe ſchollers of Machiauell, would here bleare our eyes, with theſe goodlie ſhewes of loyaultie, fidelitie, naturall clemencie, and ſuch golden and glorious words, and yet notwithſtanding they make no difficultie, to playe with the othes which they take, & with the words that they giue, to men of ſuch qualitie and countenaunce. Beholde then, the authours, promotors, and framers of the troubles, that haue fallen out by reaſon of the firſt requeſt or ſupplication, and you haue vnderſtoode (my Lordes) that this was the counſell that I haue giuen therein.

Touching my Lorde the Countie Ludowick of Naſſau.

As concerning that which they ſpeake, of the late my Lorde the Countie Lodowick my brother, they ſhould do better, to leaue ſo good a Knight in peace and vnnamed, than to ſpeake of him, ſeeing that he was much more honeſt then they, and without compariſon a better chriſtian, and I make no more of this that they call him Hereticke, then our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte did, when as good people as our enemies are, called him Samaritane.

Of the publike aſſemblies of thé of the religion.

As concerning publike preaching, which after their maner they call heretical, you your ſelues (my Lordes) do ſufficiently knowe, by whom and howe they were brought in. And albeit, that I had not at that time ſo much credit with them, as that they would demaunde my aduiſe therein, neither in deed did I euer counſell them: Notwithſtanding, the matters being come to ſuch termes, I confeſſe that I was of aduiſe, that the Dutcheſſe of Parma ſhould yeelde vnto them, wherein if I haue giuen ill counſell, then that which followed afterwards, doth at the leaſt ſufficiently declare, whether thoſe that ſuppoſed my counſell to be naught, haue very well handled their

Maſters

Maſters affaires and buſineſſes, but rather God hath manifeſtly ſhewed, that albeit he do for a time correct his own children, yet he neuer leaueth, a periurie ſo well qualified and notorious, as that of the Kinges & the Dutches of Parmes was, without greeuouſly puniſhing it, to the ende that al the world may knowe, that he ſaieth not without cauſe, that he will not holde him guiltles, who ſhall take his name in vaine.

As concerning the beaters downe of Images, and other diſorders, I beleeue (my Lords) that there is none amongſt you, but he knoweth well inough, that ſuch wayes and manners of doing, pleaſe mee no whit at all, and that many of them, who ſhould haue aided & ſuſteined me, haue on the other ſide with great iniurie torne me in peeces, becauſe I woulde neuer conſent, that ſuch things ſhuld be done, without ſome ordinance and decree of the Superiours and gouernours. Concerning Images beaten downe and ouerthrowen.

They haue no better foundatiō, then ſuch as you haue heard before, for this that they ſaye, *that the prouidence and wiſe gouernment, of the Dutcheſſe of Parma was ſo great, that I was inforced to depart out of the countrey.* It may be, that they ſhoulde ſay ſomewhat, if they would ſay, that the deceites of the Dutcheſſe & hir periuries, were the cauſe thereof: or if they would ſpeake, of the ſmall reſolution, and of the ouer great eaſineſſe to beleeue that ſome had, who looked continually for the hangmen and tormentours, and of the ouer great affection, that I and other great Lords had towards the King, who perſwaded my Lordes of Berghes, and of Montignie to goe into Spaine, ſuppoſing, that for their good ſeruices, & the nobilitie of their race, the King himſelfe would bee content, to vnderſtande by their mouth, that which was neceſſarie for the preſeruation of the countrey, rather than to heare it by the Spaniardes: but ſeeing that they were intreated in ſuch ſorte, as euery one knoweth, I thought, that I had inſt occaſion, more nighlie to take heede vnto my ſelf, than before. If they would ſay theſe things were the cauſe, they ſhould ſpeake ſome peece of the trueth. But I was reſolued a yeere before, to depart and to giue vp my offices, as appeareth by letters written with the Kinges owne hande, and which I haue alſo ioyned to this preſent. Of the withdrawing of the Lorde Prince into Germanie.

ſent writing, which doeth ſufficiently ſet out, the falſhoode of their ſpeeche. And if any man woulde knowe, why a yeere afterwards I withdrew my ſelfe into Germanie, my defence publiſhed in the yeere ſixtie ſeuen, doeth ſufficiently declare the cauſes thereof, to wit, ſpecially becauſe I would not conſent, that the Spaniſh Inquiſition, ſhould be receaued into my gouernmentes. By reaſon whereof, I reſigned them before, into the handes of the ſaide Dutcheſſe, with full purpoſe to liue in peace and quietnes, with my kinsfolkes and friendes, looking when it would pleaſe God, either to giue the king better counſell, or, if he did yet waxe worſe and worſe, when it would pleaſe God him ſelfe to open a gate, to deliuer this poore countrey, which I ſawe plunged into a bottomleſſe depth, of miſchieues and miſeries. For, who can without being wounded with wonderfull griefe, rehearſe the baniſhmentes, the taking awaye of goods, the impriſonmentes, the tormentes endured, the ſundrie ſortes of horrible and miſerable deathes, wherewith this blooddie people, (ſurmounting in crueltie, Phalaris, Buſyris, Nero, Domitian, and all tyrauntes) haue perſecuted the poore ſubiectes of this Countrey? And notwithſtanding theſe thinges, I ſeeing no meane, to comforte them ouer this miſerie, did hold my ſelfe peaceable & quiet. And, becauſe in this Proſcription they ſay, that I was at the leaſt offered it, whileſt that the laſt treatie helde at Colen laſted: they ought to know, that they ſhould be contented with my voluntarie baniſhment, and not to purſue me any further, ſeeing in deede, that I gaue them to vnderſtande, by a man of countenance and credit, who yet is liuing, that if they attempted, to touche mine honour and my goods, they would conſtraine mee, to take ſuch order for my affaires as I myght. But, as madd people, after that they coulde not drawe me by their honied and flattering wordes, the King alſo thinking, to buſie me by ouer honeſt letters, which yet notwithſtanding I did plainly perceaue to be full of deceit, they directed themſelues, firſt to my young ſonne, a childe and a ſcholler, and againſt the priuiledges of the Vniuerſitie, they tooke him violently from Louain, yea, after the exhortation and declaration made

The King of Spaine inforced my Lorde Prince, by all manner of iniuſtice, to take armes.

The Countie of Bueren, taken in the ſcholes, and caried into Spayne, a-

made by the Vniuerſitie, that barbarous fellowe Vergas, aun-
ſwered barbarouſlie in falſe latin: *Non curamus veſtros priuile-*
*gios:* we regarde not your priuiledges. After this, they carried
him out of Brabant, againſt the priuiledges of the Countrey,
and againſt the Kinges othe, and they ſent him into Spaine,
that ſo they might remoue him from me, who am his father,
and euen vnto this preſent, they keepe this innocent, in harde
and cruell priſon, inſomuch as, if they had done mee no other
iniurie, I ſhould be vnworthie, not only my ſtock & the name
which I carrie, but alſo of the name of a father, vnleſſe I did
imploye, all the wit, and all the meanes that God hath giuen
mee, to aſſay to deliuer him out of this miſerable bondage, &
to recouer if I could, ſuch a wrong. For I am not (my Lordes)
ſo vnnaturall, that I feele not the affections of a father, ney-
ther yet ſo wiſe, but that oftentimes the griefe, of ſo long an
abſence of my Sonne, doeth preſent and offer it ſelfe to my
vnderſtanding. And yet they were not content, but, againſt
all order of iuſtice, they apprehended my brethren, and pur-
ſued me with ſummonings, ſeaſementes of goods, and thruſt
me on, euen as it were by force, to attempt ſundrie thinges,
whereof I my ſelfe neuer thought: they put the proceſſe of
me and my companions (againſt the articles of the order, and
againſt the othe of the King, who was the chiefe thereof) into
the hands of I know not what porters and pitiefoggers, who
were not meete to be, groomes or pages, to my companions
and me: and they doe degrade me: they do deprive me of my
goods: they do condemne me to death. And is this any other
thing, than to free me from myne othes? and to ſet mee at li-
bertie, to come out, to aſſaulte mine enemie, by all the mea-
nes that God ſhall giue mee? Beholde then, howe, when I
ſeeke nothing but quietneſſe, they ſtirre vp trouble, I ſeeke
peace, and they prouoke mee to warre. And what warre?
A warre attempted to deliuer my childe, to preſerue my life,
to recouer my goods, and, whiche is more deare than all,
to defende myne honour. And yet, I doo not heere pro-
pound vnto you (my Lords) any thing of that, which concer-
neth the cõmon cauſe, and belongeth vnto the general State,

gainſt the
othe giuen &
made, at the
Kings glad-
ſome entrãce,
and againſt
the priuiled-
ges of Brabãt.

*Nota.*

The vniuſt
procedings, a-
gainſt the ho-
nor, the life,
and the goods
of the Lord
Prince.

This then (my Lordes) is that, which these men sleightly passe ouer, and vnder silence as it were, and which of set purpose they omit, as in deede not seruing much for their purpose. If then, I not being the Kings naturall subiect (which thing also he himselfe saith) if I being absolued from mine othes, by this vniust proclamation and sentence: If I hauing so iust a groūdworke, by force to demaund my sonne and my goods: If I say, I had driuen him, not onely out of the lowe countrey, but also out of all his landes and Lordships, yea and though I did desire to make them mine owne, seeing that against all right and equitie, yea against his owne oth, he hath by force constrained me, to attempt so necessarie a warre, euen then, when with all my power I did auoide it, and hath done me all these outrages, and that at the very selfe same time, or a little after, when by his owne letters written with his owne hand, he yelded me so great, and solemne a testimonie of faithfulnes, as no man in the worlde could desire a greater, as appeareth by the copie of the letter hereafter inserted, who is hee (the premises being rightly considered) that can accuse me of any other fault, then this, that I framed my self too much to the time, before that I would take armes, and that I would not inioye that, whiche the lawe of warre, and of al nations yeelded vnto me, vnto me I say, who am borne a free Lorde, and who haue this Honour, to carie the name and title, of an absolute Prince, albeit that my Princedome, be not of any great length or largenes?

But, seeing that the speciall foundation, and groundworke is this, that I haue taken and borne armes against my Superiour, I am likewise cōtēt, to enter into this matter, where they shal find themselues to haue as good foundations, as in other places. And in the first place I woulde faine haue them to tell me, by what title King Philippe, the heire of the bastard Henrie of Castille, possesseth the kingdome of Castille, & of Leon? For it is most manifest, that Henrie his predecessour was a bastarde, who rebelled against the lawefull heire, who was his owne brother & Lord, whom also he slue with his owne hand. What right then or title had this bastarde being the Kinges great Graundfather? The aunswere, that Don Pedro was a

The iustifiyng of the taking of armes by my Lorde the Prince.

tyraunt,

tyraunt, and in deede I cõfesse, that commonly they giue him the name of cruell. But if by this title Philippe holde Castille, why doth not he perceiue, that men may by the same measure, driue him out, that hath chased awaye others? And if there haue neuer bin, any more cruell tyraunt, who hath more proudly, and with lesse consideration violated, the priuiledges of the countrey, then Philipp him selfe, shall not he be much more vnworthie, to beare, and to weare the crown of Castille, then Don Pedro? For, at the least Don Pedro was not an incestuous person, nor a slaier of his Sonne, nor a murtherer of his wife. And if some will saye, that this concerneth mee no whit at all, I am content to come yet somewhat more nigh, albeit that I haue not purposed, to staie my selfe vppon that, which I shall presently speake vnto you. But suppose, that I did take vp armes against him, and that he were simply my superiour, and that I were borne his subiect (which yet is not so, euen as he himselfe confesseth it) what shoulde I do but that, which his predecessor had don, against the Emperour Adolfus of Nassau, his Superior? Euery one that knoweth neuer so litle in the matters and affaires of Germanie, knoweth, how Albert the firste Duke of Austriche, of that name and race (for before he bare the title, of the Countie of Habsbourg) armed him selfe against the said Lorde Emperour my predecessour. And albeit, it was Gods will, that the said Emperour shoulde die in the battell, yet I know, what the wisest writers haue iudged thereof, albeit that Gerrard, then Bishop of Maience, the principall author of that conspiracie, ment to colour & darcken the same. And verely, if a man will somewhat more nighly looke into the storie, he shall finde, that this faction was set vp by Pope Boniface (of whom it is saide, he entred into his Popedome as a Foxe, he raigned as a Lion, & died as a dogg) because the Emperour would not acknowledge him for such a one, as he said he was, and therefore, he stirred vp against him Albert, who was already much displeased against him, because Adolfus was preferred before him, in the election to the Empire, & some Bishoppes also, ouermuch addicted to the Pope, did ioyne them selues vnto him, and ayded him,

Albert Duke of Austriche took armes against Adolfus of Nassau the Emperor.

Pope Boniface the 8.

But who is he, that would willingly reuerēce so wicked a man, who in his Inbilie, caused to be caried before him, in the maner of a triumphe, two swordes, causing him, that caried one of them, to crie, O Christ beholde thy Vicar on earth, and the other, to say, O Peter, beholde thy succession? And verely, hauing committed so wicked a feate against the Emperor, and hauing Albert at his commaundement, he was purposed, for the like consideration, to do as much to the French King, called philipp the faire, giuing his kingdome to the saide Albert, and caused him to bee named King of the Romaines and of the French men. But hee founde the preestes of Fraunce, lesse readie to serue him, and lesse able to helpe him, and the whole kingdome stirred vp, by the learned Orations of Master Peter Coignieres, and a resolute king who caused his foolehood (for so the king called him in his letters) to be taken at Anania, by one of the Lordes, and he the eldest of the noble house of Colonnes, and by a gentleman of Languedoc, named Nogaret, who brought him to Rome, where also they put him to death, as he had most iustlie deserued the same. But, as I haue sayde, I will not stay my selfe vpon these foundations, but minde to come to the mutual bondes, which are betweene him and vs. Let vs thē put the case, that al this, were neither so nor so. Doth not he verie wel know, that if he be Duke of Brabant, I, by reason of my Baronneis, am one of the principal members of Brabant? Doth he not know wherein he is bound to me, my brethren and companions, and the good towns of the countrey? Hath he forgotten vpō what cōditions he keepeth this estate? Doth he no longer remember his othe? Or if he thincke vpon it, doth he so litle regard that which he hath promised to God and the countrey, and that vpon conditions tied to the Dukes hat or garland? It is not needfull (my Lordes) that I shoulde here set out vnto you that, which he hath promised vs, before that wee tooke any othe vnto him, for sundrie amongest you knowe the same: But because that others shall see, this my defence, I was verie willing, to call to your remembraunce, the summe of his othe. You knowe (my Lordes) whereunto he is bound, and that it is not in his dispositiō, to do whatsoeuer he liketh

King Philip the faire, beginneth his letter with theis words Sciat fatuitas vestra, that is, let your follie or foolehood know.

The iustifiing of the taking of armes by the Estates against Philip Duke of Brabant, & countie of Flanders.

liketh of, as he doth in the Indians, for he can not here amongſt vs, by violence inforce, one of his ſubiectes only, to any thing whatſoeuer, vnleſſe that the cuſtome, of the benche of the iuſtices, where they dwell, permit the ſame. He may not, by any ordinaunce or decree, alter or chaunge, after any ſort whatſoeuer, the eſtate of the countrey. He muſt content him ſelfe, with his ordinarie and common reuenewes: he may not cauſe to be leuied, nor yet exact any impoſitions or taxes, without the good will, and expreſſe conſent of the countrey, and according to the priuiledges thereof: He can not bring ſouldiers into the Countrey, without the conſent thereof: He maie not touche nor deale with the decrying or imbaſing of money, without the conſent of the Eſtates of the Countrey: Hee can not cauſe any ſubiect to be apprehended, without information made, and knowledge firſt giuen, by the Magiſtrate of the place: Hauing any for a priſoner, he can not ſend him out of the Countrey. I beſeeche you (my Lordes) do you not ſee, hearing only this ſame rehearſed, if the Barons & Nobles of the coũtrey, who by reaſon of the preheminẽces, & the charge of the armies, do not oppoſe them ſelues, I ſay, not only when theſe articles are violated, but whẽ they are tyrannouſly trodẽ vnder foote, & when not one article, but all, & that not once, but a thouſande thouſand times, are broken & corrupted, not by the Duke onely, but by barbarous and ſauage people: Do you not ſee, I ſaye, that if the Nobles, according to their othe, and bonde, do not inforce the Duke, to yeelde equitie and iuſtice to the Countrey, that they them ſelues ſhoulde be condemned, of periurie, vnfaithfulneſſe, and rebellion againſt the Eſtates of the Countrey? And as concerning my ſelfe, I haue in deede a particular reaſon, and which toucheth me yet more nighe, that is, that contrarie vnto all the ſaide priuiledges, I was depriued of all my goods, without obſeruing any forme or order of iuſtice therein. But that which fell out in the perſon of my Sonne, the Countie of Bueren, is ſo euident a teſtimonie, of the enemies diſloyaultie and vnfaithfulnes, & of the tranſgreſsion or breache of the priuiledges, that no man can, with any good reaſon doubt, why I haue taken vp armes.

The ſumme of the priuiledges of Brabant.

And in that, I was not able at the first time, to take fast footing in the countrey, which he vpbraideth me withall, what newe thing hath betithed vnto me, which hath not fallen out vnto the greatest Captaines of the worlde? Yea, euen vnto him him selfe, who hath so oftentimes entered, and that with so great and mightie armies, into Holland and Zeland, and yet, with a handfull of people, and by the aide of my Lordes the Estates, of the saide prouinces, he hath bin shamefully driuen out of the said countrey, and that great Captaine the Duke of Alua & his successours, without hauing at this day, in the saide countreis, one foote of lande vnder his disposition, and gouernment, as by your good aide, I hope that shortly, he shall not haue anie in all the rest of the countrey. To bee short, by his othe hee meaneth, that in the case of gainestanding him, we should be no longer bounde vnto him, neither yeelde him any seruice or obedience, as appeareth by the last article. If then I be not bounde vnto him: If I owe him not any more seruice or obedience, why is he so rashe, as to say, that I haue taken vp armes against my Lord? Certainly betweene al Lords and Vassailes, there is a mutuall bonde, and this saying of a certaine Senator to a Consull, shalbe alwaies praysed: If thou doest not account me for a Senator, I wil not account thee for a Consull. But betweene Vassals there is very great difference, some remaining without comparison in farre greater libertie, than other some, as we are in Brabant, hauing such large priuiledges and rights, that we may freely make & giue, graunts in our lands, so that, excepting the homage which we owe, we cannot haue any thing more then we haue. And amongest other rightes and priuiledges we haue this, to stand our Dukes in that steede, that the Ephori at Sparta did their Kinges, that is to say, to keepe the kingdome sure, in the power of a good Prince, and to cause him to yeelde equitie, which stood against his othe.

The first armie of the L. Prince.

But some will say, that there is a condition annexed, that is, that we shalbe so long freed from our othe, till he haue amended the faulte. But what if he will neuer amend it? If after the Emperour Maximilian, and the Princes of the Empire entreat

An obiection.

treat him, and make interceſſion for vs, that it woulde pleaſe him to vnburden the countrey: for a full anſwere, ſome would ſay vnto them, that they ſhould meddle with their owne matters, and that the King knoweth well inough, how to gouerne his ſubiectes: If, after infinite declarations, by the meſſage of verie noble Lordes of this countrey, we do requeſt him to do vs iuſtice, he proudly reiect our requeſtes, and put to death the ſaide Lordes, and ſuch as hee can take, cauſeth them to paſſe thorowe the hangmens handes, and purſue the reſt, by all vnworthie and cruel meanes: If he bring in vppon vs newe armies, vtterlie to deſtroye vs, ſhall we tarie alwaies looking for mercie, vntill ſuch time as the Spaniſhe crueltie, ſhall haue cut of from vs all hope of reſpite? But hee will nowe amende the fault, and hath ſent meanes therefore, by the Lorde of Selles: alſo he hath diſalowed the Duke of Alua. We ſhall ſee al theſe thinges in their order. For the preſent I am contented to declare, that by good reaſon I haue taken vp armes againſt him: Firſt, with the Eſtates of Hollande and Zealande, and afterwardes with you (my Lordes) that he is forſworne againſt the whole countrey, and in reſpect of mee, againſt the articles of the poincts of the order, againſt the priuiledges of Brabant, in taking away my Sonne, and carrying him into Spaine, depriuing me of my goods and dignities, hauing ſet mee ſufficiently free from myne othe towardes him, and declaring at this preſent, his verie baſe heart, and yet notwithſtanding tyrannous, publiſhing this cruell and barbarous Proſcription, as the heape of all iniuſtice and vnworthines.

Nota.

Nowe (my Lordes) ſith it hath pleaſed him, to ſtretch out his ſpeache vnto the times which followed, I minde verely to enter thereinto alſo, and that the more willingly, becauſe that I haue done nothing of that, whereof heereafter hee accuſeth me: but firſt, by the aduiſe and conſent, of the Eſtates of Hollande and Zealande, and afterwards by your conſent in generall, ſo that if there haue bin any faulte committed, it ought not to be imputed to me, but rather I ſhould be greatly prayſed, becauſe I ſerued you ſo well & faithfully. I will then come, to the accuſations that remaine, but it ſhalbe with this cõditi-

on, (my

on (my Lordes) that I may, as heretofore I haue done, largely rehearſe, and plainly ſet out, that which he malicioußlie omitteth, to the end he might couer his wicked and cruell hearte, and yet neuertheleſſe ceaſeth not, to cauſe it to be publiſhed, by certaine ſmall ſlaunderous libelles.

I haue (my Lordes) obſerued, that all this accuſation, or ill ſpeache rather, which followeth afterwardes, is diuided into two partes: the one touching that, which was ioyned with the comming of the Duke of Alua, and which followed therupō, and ſpecially concerning that, which after my comming into Hollande and Zealande, was executed, by my gouernment, & my Lordes the Eſtates of the ſaide Countreis: The other, is that which hath fallen out, ſince that God opened your eyes, by the meane of the pride and outrages of the Spaniardes, and that you publiſhed them, and their adherents, for rebelles and enemies to the countrey, that ſo you might at the laſt deliuer this poore countrey, from this accurſed raſe. Wherefore I will follow the ſelfe ſame order. And firſt I render thanks to God, that euen by the very ſilence of mine enemie, you (my Lords) do knowe, and I hope, that all the worlde ſhall knowe, that I was not ſo much as ſuſpected, to haue applied to mine owne profit, ſo much as one onely pennie, of the publick coyne: for though in other things, as you haue alreadie begunne to ſee, they haue not ſtucke at it, to ſet out falſe accuſations, and to charge me, with ouer manifeſt ſlaunders: ſeeing alſo, that they do not obiect vnto me, the leaſt ſuſpition of couetouſnes, they do ſufficiently thereby declare, not only, how free I am from that fault, but alſo, albeit they themſelues be impudent, and in very deede my deadly enemies, yet they durſt neuer obiect againſt mee, this fault wherewith commonly, the Gouernours of Prouinces, are either wrongfully or rightly charged. But, I thanke God, I haue long time ago learned, that he which gouerneth and commaundeth others, ought aboue all things to haue cleane handes, and euen voide if it may bee of all ſuſpition, which was the cauſe, that euen from my youth, I vnburdened my ſelfe, of the charge of the treaſures, which was moſte gladlie receiued & accepted of others. And albeit (my Lordes) that it

The Lord Prince was not ſo much as ſuſpected by his enemies, to haue touched or taken any of the common treaſure.

that it was at no hande needfull, that I ſhoulde make mention of theſe thinges, whileſt I ſpeake vnto you, who knowe, that I neuer had the handeling of one onely pennie of the publicke treaſure: and as concerning this, that it hath pleaſed you to appoint mee ſo much, as well in reſpect of my Eſtate, as in reſpect of the extraordinarie charges of the warre, you knowe how little I haue receaued thereof: and of the meanes, which yet I haue, howe I haue therwithal maintained & vpheld, ſundrie greate charges, ſince that I entred into your ſeruice: which I do notwithſtanding not impute, to the want of your good will towardes me, but to the conditiō of the time wherin we liue. But ſith, that by the ſecret confeſsion of mine enemie, I may haue ſuch an aduauntage, I minde not to paſſe it ouer vnder ſilence, to the ende I might cauſe, certaine ſmall Serpentes that are amongſt vs, to vnderſtand, that they ought to be aſhamed, to haue ſpread abroad, either againſt their cōſcience, or els thorowe a certaine extreeme folly and madnes, that which the very enemies: who haue conſpired againſt me and the countrey, haue as yet neuer bin ſo impudent, as to obiect againſt mee: perceiuing in deede, that in propounding ſuch a matter, the brightneſſe of the trueth, woulde diſcouer the filthines of their life.

Seeing then, that they place me in ſo goodlie a fielde, as to declare not what I haue done, but what the Eſtates of Holland and Zealande haue done, by my aide and ſeruice, I refuſe not, euen before you my Lordes, and before all the men in the worlde, to enter into account with them: but alſo, ſith that you are the chiefeſt Iudges, of that whiche is done in this Countrey, it is more than reaſonable, that you ſhould regard that, whiche they haue vniuſtly perfourmed, in all the other Prouinces, whileſt that my Lordes the Eſtates of Hollande, Zealande, and I, did ſtande in ſteede of ſtaies and hinderaunces, vnto the courſe of their enterpriſes and attemptes.

Firſt they ſay, *That I practiſed to returne, into Holland and Zealande.* Though it were ſo, what other thinge did I, but that which my dutie required? And if I did enter vppon

The cauſes which moued the Lorde Prince, to come into Hollande,

ſo good a foundation, as I haue heretofore laide out, into the Countrey with an armie, why ſhoulde I haue made any ſtaye, to enter into that, which was of mine owne gouernment, and whervnto I was more ſworne and bound, and wherin I hold the chiefeſt degrees of Honour, amongeſt the Nobilitie? But ſo farre of was I, from attempting ſuch matters, that on the other ſide, I am readie to ſhewe the letters both of the principall Gouernours of the Townes, and of the principal townes themſelues, by the which I was called, for the deliueraunce of the countrey, againſt the tyrannie of the Spaniards, and namely of the Duke of Alua. And as concerning the promiſes that I made, at my entraunce thereinto, and namely that they ſaye, that I promiſed the ſaide Eſtates to mainteine them, if the Duke of Alua would preſſe them, with the tenth and twentith pennie, ſhall neuer be found true, but this rather, that I came the ſecond time, openly and in armes into the Countrey, that I might deliuer it, from that tyrannie, which then oppreſſed them, not onely in reſpect of the tenth pennie, but, for a thouſande other ſortes of more than barbarous crueltie, and ſpecially, for the great ſlaughter, that the Duke of Alua thé made, of the poore inhabitaunts of the ſaid countreis. And as concerning that, that they ſay, that the eccleſiaſticall Romaniſtes, were perſecuted by me and driuen from their goods, and another religion brought in, I neede my Lordes for this no other defence, but that which you your ſelues knowe thereof, to wit, that the whole chaunge, which inſued thereupon, was rather a worke of God, then of men. You knowe, howe often I haue bin accuſed, that I did ouer coldly ſet my ſelfe againſt the aduerſaries: that I did ſuffer them too much: and that I ſhould be the cauſe of the ruine of the countrey, becauſe I was ouerſlow to chaſe them away, and to roote them out. And, when the queſtion was, to ſende ſome them of packing, you knowe the duties that I perfourmed, to the ende that euerie one might liue in peace, and one of them with another. But the Eſtates, which at the firſt, thought it fit and profitable, for the preſeruation of the countrey, that both the one & the other religion ſhould be tollerated: learned afterwards, by the

insolencies, attemptes, and treasons, of the enemies whiche were mingled amongest vs, that their Estate was in daunger, of an vnavoydeable ruine, vnles they hindered the exercise of the Romane religion: and they perceaued, that those that made profession thereof, at the least the preests, had taken an othe to the pope, (as they do in euery place where they come) which they preferred before the othe, they had made to the countrey: insomuch, that in the assemblie of the Estates at Leyden, as also in the league of the countreys of Holland and Zealande, this article was with one consent agreed vpon, neyther could the enemies be ignoraunt of these thinges, seeing that in the treatie holde at Breda, about the question of religion (the enemies there propounding this, on their owne behalfe, that that chaunge fell out, by the guiding of certaine particular persons) there was shewed vnto them, the consent of all the townes vnder their seuerall seales. And nowe I beseeche you, what bonde coulde there remaine vnto me, seeing that they, vnto whom I had made a promise, did not only discharge me thereof: but they them selues also, did cut it in sunder, break it, and made it of no force? And notwithstanding I will leaue it to the iudgement of the wise, whether therein I haue done well or euill. This onely I say, that when such things were propounded, I desired them, that they woulde not proceede so farre, and therefore much more, when they did execute and perfourme the same: whereof not onely my Lordes of Hollande and Zealande, but also, certaine troublesome, & waieward persons, amongest vs (who also haue spread abroad against me in straunge countreis, their wicked speaches) will giue me so good a testimonie, that I hope I shall not neede any great defence, against such accusations, which being by me denied as false (for so they are in deede) I feare not that they shal be able to yeelde any proofe thereof: leauing it to you (my Lordes) to iudge, howe foolishe such an accusation is; which maie be beaten backe, with a simple deniall, and yet notwithstanding the greatest part of the goodlie coulours, wherewith this painter boasteth that he hath set mee out, may be quite & cleane defaced, with such a sponge only. If they will alleadge,

The causes wherefore some of the Romishe Church, withdrew themselues out of Holland.

The establishmét of one onely religió in Holland and Zeland, and wherfore it was so done.

that yet notwithstanding they, that were driuen out, haue iust occasion to complaine, because that promise was not kept with them: I answere, that albeit this is not directed against me, yet notwithstāding, for the defence of the Estates of Holland and Zealande, I will say this much, that this complaint, should haue but a verie ill foundation, because it is not reasonable, that anye such people shoulde enioye a priuiledge, by meanes of which they would deliuer the coūtrey into the enemies handes. Their purpose was, to betraie the liues, and the goods of the Subiectes, and not one or two or three priuiledges onely, but all the fraunchises and liberties, preserued time out of minde, and from age to age, by our predecessours and aunceſtours.

They add withall, *That I haue procured libertie of conscience.* If they vnderstande thereby, that I haue made an open way to such impieties, as are commonly committed in the house of the Prince of Parme, where Atheistrie, and other vertues of Rome, are counted but sporte: I answere, that it is amongest the heires of the Lord Peter Lewis, where a man must seeke & finde such libertie, or rather vnbridled licence. But I will indeede confesse, that the brightnes of the fiers, wherein they haue tormented so many poore christians, was neuer deliteful or pleasaunt to mine eyes, as it hath reioyſed the sight of the Duke of Alua and the Spaniardes: and that I haue alwaies bin of this minde, to wishe and procure what I could, that the persecutions might cease, in the lowe Countreys. I will moreouer confesse vnto you, to the ende, that the enemies maye knowe, that they haue to doo with one, that speaketh roundlie & without anie painting, to witte, that the King, when hee departed out of Zelande, (whiche was the last place that he left in this Countrey) commaunded me, to put to death, manie godlie and vertuous people that were suspected to bee of the Religion. Which thing I would not perfourme, but aduertised them them selues thereof, knowing in deede, that I could not doo it with a good and safe conscience, and that I was rather to obeye GOD, than man. Let the Spaniardes then speake, what they them selues shall thinke good, I

knowe that ſundrie peoples and nations, whiche are much better thé they, who alſo haue learned, that by fire and ſword, men litle or nothing preuaile, would prayſe mee, and approue my fact.

But ſeeing that you (my Lordes) together with the generall conſent of the people, haue ſince that time approoued it, in condemning the rigour, of the placardes and licences, and in cauſing thoſe cruell executions to ceaſe, I doo no whit at all regarde that, which the Spaniardes and their adherentes, doo murmure and whiſper, concerning the ſame. Neither can I ſufficiently wonder at their follie, when they are not aſhamed to obiect vnto me, the murtheringes of the people of their Church, ſeeing, that not onely they knowe my naturall diſpoſition, to be altogether eſtraunged from ſuch violences: but alſo that you and the whole worlde, doo verie well knowe, that by commaundement and appointment, ſome, in reſpect of ſuch outrages, as theſe men woulde charge me withall, were put to death: and other ſome, being of great note and noble houſes, were arreſted, by the principall ſeruauntes of my houſholde, and after that they had bin kept priſoners a long time, they were not deliuered, but in reſpecte of the houſe, from whence they had this honour, to proceede and come: the long impriſonment of their perſons being appointed vnto them, for the puniſhment which they had deſerued. But that which was done by my charge and appointement, is in ſuch ſorte knowne to all the worlde, that they are not able, eyther to diſguiſe or darken the ſame, onely (as they haue verie well learned to ſpeake trueth) that which I haue done vertuouſlie, they ſaye, that I haue feigned, that the thing did diſpleaſe me. But who hath tolde them that I feigned? Or who is he that hath reuealed vnto them ſo muche of my ſecreates? They ſee that which I haue done, they can not iudge my hearte, neither is there anie man ſo malitious, (except it be the forger of this writing, or ſome Spaniarde) whiche ought not rather to giue iudgemente vppon that which he ſeeth, than vpon that, which he maliciouſly and wickedlie ſuſpecteth.

They that ill intreated the preeſts, were puniſhed.

They caſt alſo infinite blames & ſlaunders, vpon our religion, and they call vs heretiques. But it is ſuch as a long time ſince, they tooke vpon them to proue it, and yet were neuer able to bring it to purpoſe or effect. And I ſay, that theſe iniuries (being like vnto the wordes of women, prouoked & chafed with collor) do not deſerue any anſwere, much leſſe that beaſtlyneſſe, to ſaie, that I neuer truſted any eyther Prieſt or Friar, vnleſſe he were maried, and that I inforced them to marie. For, who is it that knoweth not, that without choiſe or diſcretion, they caſt at my head, euery thing that they finde in the waye, ſo great is their furie, and their paſsion ſo outragious and vnmeaſurable? And albeit that theſe things were true, as in deed they are not, neither yet reaſonable (for we learne by our Religion, that mariage ought to be free, and ſhould not be either inforced or forbidden) yet ſo it is, that this faulte ſhoulde not be comparable, with that tyranny ouer cõſciences, which hath forbidden mariage to a great part of Chriſtendome, againſt which forbidding, not onely the Eaſt churches oppoſed themſelues, but alſo the churches of Germanie and Fraunce.

Concerning the mariage of Prieſts.

But that (my Lordes) which is greatly to be eſteemed in this Proſcription, ſo true and well grounded, is this, *That the King commaunded not the Duke of Alua, to impoſe the tenth and twentieth pennie, without the cõſent of the people*. If thẽ the Duke of Alua, in a matter of ſo great importaunce, and whiche was the cauſe of the death and deſtruction, of ſo many thouſandes of men, hath paſſed his commiſſion, what puniſhment folowed thereof? The Duke of Alua, for hauing perfourmed to his owne ſonne this dutie, to wit, that he might marie his couſin, leauing another, whom vnder the colour of mariage accompliſhed, he had abuſed, (euen as Rigomes had before perfourmed for the king, as before hath bin declared) was caſt into priſon, and put out of fauour, and ſhoulde not as yet haue bin deliuered, if in all Spaine they had bin able to haue founde a tyraunt, more fitt to exerciſe tyrannie vpon the poore Portugales then he. He was then chaſtiſed for a ſmall faulte, and for ſuch a great one, he was honoured, much made of, and filled with rewardes: And he that would preſſe the King, with the

Concerning the tenth and twentith pennie.

death

death of my Lordes of Egmount and of Hornes, he would say as much, and disallowe againe the Duke of Alua for it. Is not this a good meane thinke yee, to discharge himselfe of al faultes? But let them take which part they will, either the King commaunded it, and then hee cannot auoyde the name of a tyraunt, or els he commaunded it not, and yet for all that the name of a tyraunt shall remaine vnto him, because he did not chastise and correct him, who of his owne priuate authoritie, had vsurped such a tyrannie, vppon a franck and free people, whereby it appeareth, that he is culpable thereof. And albeit, that I haue alwayes esteemed the Duke of Alua, for the enemie of the countrey, and as one who hath willingly bathed himselfe in our blood, and in the blood of all Christians, carying closely a Turkishe hearte within him: yet so it is, that I haue knowen him to well, and haue bin to to much practised to beleeue this, that he should be so sottishe, and so presumptuous, as to dare to attẽpt, to laye vpon the people an imposition of such consequence, and to pursue it so long time, and that by such extraordinarie, yea & altogether insupportable meanes to the countrey, without good and sufficient cõmandement directed vnto him therefore, and that not once only, but sundrie times. I beseeche you (my Lordes) to weye this well, whether he, that in his owne proper and priuate name, durst condemne, or fauoure them that did condemne, the Burgmaster of Amstelredam, in fiue and twentie thousande Florins of amercement, because hee set him selfe against the tenth pennie, was not well assured, and had not sufficient discharge for the same frõ his Superiour? Neither neede we (my Lordes) any other place then this, whereby to knowe, the fraudes, dissimulations and craftes, wherewith the King hath so long a time, lead and deceiued vs, and yet purposeth still to do, if we suffer him to wound vs, with the prick of his tongue, or to astonish vs, with the threatnings of his armies. And because, he will haue the bruite thereof, sounded abroad, by reason of the Townes taken, and surprised in Hollande, to wit, within this two, three, or foure yeeres, and that with more force then he hath fought against the Turke withall; I aun-

swere:

ſwere him, that, hauing the aduantages whereof he braggeth, he ought to conſider, whether this tende not to his very great ſhame, that hee is altogether driuen out of that Countrey. And it ſtandeth him not in any ſteed, to alleadge, the mutinie of the Spaniardes. For a Gouernour, and ſpecially ſuch a one as had ſuch great meanes as hee had, doeth ſufficiently bewray his inſufficiencie & vnworthineſſe to commaunde, when he is not able by ſuch meanes, to keepe in obedience his owne Souldiers: on the other ſide, in excuſing him ſelfe ſo fooliſhly, he ſeeth whether he will or no, that hee is inforced to confeſſe, that I, and my Lordes of Hollande and Zealande, hauing verie ſlender meanes, as namely but foure or fiue thouſande men, haue broken his attempts, and cauſed him to conſume three ſcore thouſande. And whileſt (my Lordes) hee thus in this countrey loſt his time, his men, and his money, hee loſt likewiſe within two monethes, the kingdome of Tunis, and the Goulette, with the greateſt ſhame and confuſion, that euer anie mightie Prince did, yea though he were driuen out of his owne lande, albeit ſome woulde lay the faulte heereof, vppon the youth of Don Iohn, & vpon the whoredome of the Cardinall. For whileſt he did ſo ill imploy his forces here amongſt vs, Sinam Baſſcha, tooke from him that Kingdome, and that fortreſſe, which men ſuppoſed could neuer haue bin taken: & this he did in the ſight of Spaine and of Sicilia, without that euer any of the Kings ſide, durſt ſo much as ſhewe his head, to fight againſt him, or onely to turne him aſide. And yet, if hee had no regarde to the good of Chriſtendome (which in deed he neuer had, as witneſſeth the painted league that hee made, which alſo coſt the Venetians ſo much) nor reſpect to his own honour, at the leaſt, the memorie and name of the Emperour his father, (who did little or nothing regard, all his notable deedes and feates of armes, in reſpect of that conqueſt) ought to haue mooued and thruſt him forwarde, with a noble and earneſt deſire, wiſely to haue mainteyned that, which the Emperour his father had ſo valiantly conquered for him and all Chriſtendome. But the rage and furie to deſtroye vs, which caried him awaie, tooke both his eyes from him, that he could

The ſhameful loſtes of the kingdome of Thunis & the Goulette.

not

not see that euill, and his vnderstanding also that he could not discerne it, he louing ouermuch to make proofe, rather of his weakenes against his owne proper people, thē of his forces, against the common and vniuersall enemie of Christendome.

This (my Lordes) is that which he obiecteth against mee, & which also fell out, before our generall coniunction, and ioyning together. Wherevnto (it may be) it was not altogether necessarie to answere, saving that it is requisite, not onely to satisfie you, but also to stoppe their mouthes, and to make all the worlde to vnderstande their impudencies and slaunders. For, if the question were, but of that which cōcerneth your selues, and those which heretofore were on our side, who haue notwithstāding, very euelly & without any cause, withdrawen themselues from vs: you, and those with you, haue heretofore sufficiently declared, that you had a farre better opinion of me. For first, the accorde treated of by you, with me & my Lordes of Hollande and Zealande, at Gaunt, hath sufficiently iustified mee, seeing that if you had supposed me to be such a one, as this infamous Proscription describeth me, you neither woulde nor could haue entred into treatie with me: beside, so many honorable embassages, as you since that time haue sent vnto me, to S. Gheertrudenberghe, and euen yet to Antwerp, both to cause me to come into Brabant, and to cause mee to come vnto you to Bruxelles, that I might bee assistaunt with you in Counsell: and also, that yee did honour mee with the title of Lieuetenaunt generall. All these thinges I say do sufficiently declare, what is the opinion and iudgement that yee haue had, of all these false and friuolous accusations, whiche thing alone, I suppose, to be ouer sufficient and strong to confute them.

But let vs nowe see, howe before that time, they on their behalfes gouerned themselues, with what pride, insolencie, and disdaine of our whole nation. I will not repeate, the periuries and deceites of the Dutchesse, nor of the King, in the behalfe of my Lordes the Counties of Egmount and of Horne, nor the baites and alluramentes, which they prepared for me, nor yet generally that which fel out before the cōming

of the Duke of Alua, but that onely whiche was doone afterwardes, vntill the time of our generall coniunction and ioyning together, to the end, that as the remembraunce of the mischiefes and griefes past, shall bring vnto you pleasure and contentement, and the same (as I hope) vnto mee, who with some delighte haue ayded you therin: so that by the same you will more and more strengthen your selues, in this resolution, which is both holy, and worthie of immortall praise, & which you also haue taken vpon you, that is, to oppose and set your selues against the Spaniardes and their adherentes. Now, as well the saide Duke of Alua, as those that commaunded vnder him and after him, haue sufficiently made vs to vnderstande, what was at all times the counsell of Spaine, to wit, to roote vs out, and to bring vs into bondage. For, as Hanniball, euen when he was but nine yeeres olde did sweare, by the altar of his goddes, that he would be all his life long, an enemie to the Romanes: so was this Duke of Alua, from his childhood nourished, and brought vp, in an vnreconcilable hatred againste this countrey, which, by so much blood as he hath spilt, could as yet neuer be satisfied, but so much the more hath he caused it to runne out on euerie side, in all the Townes of this Countrey, yea so farre forth, that he hath caused to be put to death (which thing also he himself bragged of) eighteene thousand poore innocent men and more, and that by the handes of the hangman or tormentor, and yet for all that, that cruell lust of his, could neuer be satisfied. So that if any would know, what are the priuie counsels of Spaine: what is the Kings good wil, and how much he loueth vs, he shall find it all deciphered and set out, in the bloodie deeds of the Duke of Alua, as if it were set out before his eies, and liuely painted in a table of painters worke. For there hath not bin any kinde of dissimulation, treason, and vnfaithfulues, which hee hath not vsed, that hee might bring vnder his subiection and seruice, the principall Lords of this countrey, and that by offers, promises, & newe titles of Honor, bestowed vpon them. But, the good and vertuous people, that he could get into his hands, hee hath cruelly put to death, without any respect, either to their innocē-

The insupportable pride of the Duke of Alua, and other officers being Spaniardes.

cie

cie,or to the priuiledges of the countrey,and yet nothing was don,but by the Kings commaundement. He committed the like,againſt the Citizens and good Marchauntes, ſo proudly treading vnder feete,our auncient liberties and freedoms,yea euery thing,that was remayning amongeſt vs of the glorie of our anceſtours,that it ſeemed that he thought, that you were at no hande worthie to be reckoned, in the number of men. And where is it, that we can haue a more certaine and plaine proofe,and that ſo open,that it is(as it were)in the ſight and beholding of all Chriſtendome,concerning this matter, and withall, of his vnſupportable contempt and diſdaine of all theſe countreis,then in that proud,ambitious,profane,heathniſhe,and withall fooliſhe ſetting vp of his owne Image,in the middeſt of the Cirtadell at Antwerpe,going impudently vpon the bellies of the Noble men,of the Eſtates,and of al the people of this countrey? Was not this thinke you,a notable monument of his tyrannie,and a teſtimonie of his pride? What ſhall I neede to ſpeake of his ſeruauntes,and of all that vermin that came out of Spaine, who ſpake of vs, not as it were of Villacos(as they vſe to ſay) or villaines,but euen as it were of bruite beaſtes? You (my Lordes) haue euen as yet your eares, altogether beaten with ſuch matters, and you are able to ſet out their geſtures, their proceedinges, their woordes full of boldneſſe,of pride,and of contempt: alſo their vnſupportable actes,and howe when they were within your townes,with what pride and inſolencie they did commaunde you. Wherefore,if that be true which wiſe men report,that,for the vnderſtanding of the naturall diſpoſition of a Lorde or Noble man, men muſt examine him by his friendes and familiars: and for the knowledge of a maiſter,men muſt ſee his ſeruantes: you may(my Lordes) by the vertues of the Duke of Alua, his maſters principall officer, and the executor of all his counſels,eaſely iudge,what good affection & will, the King beareth you, who ſent him to you,to torment you:and alſo ye may knowe what yee ought to looke for,vnleſſe yee prouide for it in time, (as in deede ye ought)which thing alſo, all the good people of this lande looke for at your handes.

the profane and proude erection,of the Duke of Alua his image,in the midſt of the late Citadel at Antwerpe.

I will ſpeake nothing, of the rauiſhings, raunſomes, and exactions committed by the Spaniardes, I wil onely ſtay my ſelf vpon the principall point. Yee could neuer yet tell, howe to obtaine a free aſſemblie, of the Eſtates generall, your enemie verie wel knowing, that, to hinder the calling together & meeting of them, was in deed to cut of by the foote, the tree of your priuiledges, and vtterly to drie vp the ſpring of your libertie. For, to what ende ſerueth it the people, to haue priuiledges in faire parchement, kept vp in a cofer, if by the meane of the Eſtates, thoſe priuiledges be not maintained, and ſo mé feele the effectes thereof? And in deede long time before, the King himſelfe had receiued a diſpenſation from the Pope, for the othe which he had made vnto you, to keepe your priuiledges. Wherein he did not onely violate and break his faith: but alſo did ouer eaſely, yea verie hurtfully beleeue, fooliſhe counſellours, whereby he to to manifeſtly declared, howe great his owne wiſedome was. For, might he not verie well vnderſtand, that, counting himſelf free from the othe, which he had made to you, you alſo were freed and quitt from your othe towards him? In ſo much, that he, minding to be vnburdened of his othe towardes you, you ought not vnto him, any obedience and ſubiection. That I may at this time ſay nothing, but leaue it vnto others more exerciſed in ſuch matters than I, to hãdle this queſtion, whether the pope may iuſtlie vaunt, that he hath anie ſuch power and authoritie, yea or no: and whether anie thing in the world, ſhall remaine certaine and ſure, if othes ſo ſolemnely made, may, vnder ſuch a pretext and cloake, be violated and broken. At the ſame time, mariages made out of the countrey, were wholy forbidden, and that whiche was neuer practiſed, was prohibited, to wit, that youth might not go out of the countrey, to ſtudie in any other ſchoole of the worlde, but in that at Rome: and condemning by that meanes, all other ſchooles (whiche is an ouer great arrogancie) they did condemne (ſo vnwarie they were) euen thoſe of the Ieſuites, without thinking anie whitte of them: and ſo (whiche is in deede the worſt) they opened a waye, to verie barbarouſnes. For, as the meetinges together of all maner of learned men,

The aſſemblie of the Eſtates generall, euer refuſed.

The King taketh a diſpenſation frõ the Pope, for his othe made at his gladſome entraunce.

The ſcholes of all the world forbidden, ſaue that of Rome only

hath

hath brought forth vnto vs in this Countrey, ſundrie perſons well qualified, who haue greatly innobled theſe Prouinces: ſo this interdiction and forbidding, could not but in proceſſe of time cauſe, a more than Turkiſh ignoraunce, that I maye ſaye nothing of this, that by that meanes, they woulde make this Countrey ſubiect, to ſuch conditions as neuer were heard of. About the ſame time, the Councell of Trente was publiſhed, whiche Councell hath ſeemed, euen to the Frenchmen them ſelues, ſo vniuſt, that euen vnto this day, it coulde not as yet be publiſhed, in the kingdome of Fraunce.

The publiſhing of the councell of Trent.

A little while before this time, there was egerlie purſued, and at the laſt obtayned, the inſtalling of the newe Biſhoppes, whiche had bin ſo long tyme before debated, by reaſon of the inconueniences, which all wiſe people, and louers of the Countrey, and haters of the tourmenting of mens conſciences, did foreſee, would inſue therevppon: whiche thing alſo I my ſelfe, write euen vnto the King: that I may ſaye nothing, of the warninges, that I gaue to the Dutcheſſe, ſometime in open counſell, and oftentimes els where: all theſe their purpoſes, tending to no other ende, but to ſet vpp the cruell Inquiſition of Spaine, and to eſtabliſhe the ſayde Biſhoppes, that they might ſerue, in ſteede of Inquiſitours, burners of mens bodies, and tyrauntes ouer their conſciences.

Biſhops newly made.

It is true, that at this daye they denie, that euer they ment to bring in, this curſed Inquiſition, but, if I bring forth vnto them a man woorthie of credite, who was at that time a Penſioner of Francke, and who had the racke twyſe ſhewed him, to be tormented vppon it, that hee might confeſſe, who they were of the Lordes of the ſaide Franck, which were purpoſed to refuſe the Inquiſition: will they ſaie that he is a forged witneſſe, who yet notwithſtanding is ſuch a one, as they are not able to obiect any thing againſt him? And beſide, if need were, I could finde inough other, plaine, & moſt manifeſt proofes. There followed the moſt rigorous placardes & licences, with expreſſe cõmaundement, to abate nothing of the old rigor: and verily the bul graũted by the pope, for the erection

Placards and licences renewed.

of the saide Bishoppes, doeth plainlie carie with it this much, that euery Bishop, might giue in his owne Cathedrall church, two prebends: that euery one of the Canons, should be boũd, to assist him in the matter of the Inquisition: and that particularlie, two amongst them, should actually, and in deede bee Inquisitours. And as Princes or tyrauntes, which possesse new Kingdomes or Lordshippes, do laye vpon them a tribute, in signe of their victorie: so the Duke of Alua, in testimonie of his conquest (for this was his common speache, to witte, that these countreis, appertayned to the King, not in title, or by right or patrimonie, but as being conquered, by armour and weapons) then I saie, to the ende he might make all the world to vnderstande the condition, wherevnto he had made subiect this countrey, he laide vpon the people, by the commaundement of his maister, the perpetuall payment of the tenth pennie, without the consent of the Estates, without the consent of the Townes & Prouinces, & he resolued with him selfe and his people, to execute the same by force. Insomuch, that whē he vnderstood, that certaine noble & couragious harts, began to be moued, euen at the verie houre (yee see my Lordes, how great Gods prouidence is) when he receiued newes of the taking of the Briele, he was resolued, to put to death, the same night the principall Burgesses and Citizens of Bruxelles, because, that they set them selues against this imposition, which was violētlie published against their priuiledges. The Hangman, named Maister Charles, was commaunded to haue in a readines, seuenteene halters, and certaine ladders of ten or twelue foote hie: the souldiers were vp in armes: Don Frederico, came into the house, of Viglius the President, to conclude the speache of the condemnatiō, when these happie newes, against the good Burgesses and Citizens of Bruxelles, arriued there. The Lieutenaunt of the Amman, was one of them, that should haue bin put to death, because he refused to execute them, that set them selues against these attemptes, and in deed the Duke of Alua, ment to keepe the promise with them, which but a litle while before, he had spoken vnto him, saying: By this *if you will not do it, I will cause you to be hanged. And moreouer, the

The imposition of the tenth pennie, without the good will, and consent of the Estates.

*to wit, Beard, a forme of

Iudges

Iudges are knaues, It is sufficient that whiche I commaunde you. And I confesse, that at the same time, I being againe prouoked, as well by sundrie good people, as by mine owne oth, came againe the seconde time with an armie, of whiche expedition I will say no more at this time, because there is none amongest you, but hee knoweth, what then were, and what yet at this present are, the euentes and successes thereof. Nowe then (my Lordes) if it please you on the one side, to consider that which the Duke of Alua did, before that this warre, was begunne: what iust occasions he gaue me, and the Estates of Holland and Zealande, to haue our recourse to armes: and also that, which he and the great Commandador did, vntill the day of the reuolting and rebellion of the Spaniardes: and on the other side, to way, howe since that time, I haue guided & gouerned my selfe, I refuse not to make ye Iudges therof, and to giue yee leaue to determine thereof, as yee your selues shall thincke, conuenient and meete. But yee haue alreadie sufficiently declared, what yee thinke thereof, by the pacification of Gaunt, by the expulsion of Don Iohn, and by so many actes and testimonies, that I neede not to haue any more, yea euen by this, that yee would not discharge mee, of my offices and charges, although that very oftentimes I requested the same of you.

swearing, vsed amongst the Spaniards.

The second comming of the L. prince with an army.

Now I will come to that, whiche in the second place they touche, in their cruell Proscription, to wit, that, which followed the time, wherein the Spaniardes were declared rebels, and enemies to the countrey.

About that time (my Lordes) there was treated and concluded the pacification of Gaunt, and that with so great ioye and contentment of the people, yea and of all the Prouinces, both generally and particularly, that no man aliue, is able to remember the like.

The pacification of Gaunt & that the enemies, both Spaniards & their adherents haue broken the same against their othe.

Euerie one may remember, the mutuall promises of friendshippe, of intelligences, partaking of counsell, and suche like comprehended therein. But what? They themselues, who afterwardes did make manifest, the great and inueterate hatred of their heart, and were notwithstanding of the number of

those

thoſe, which treated of the ſame matter with my Deputies, & with them of Hollande and Zealande: they I ſay, intreating thereof, did ouerthwartly caſt againſt it, all the hinderaunces that poſsibly they could, to cauſe it to die, before it came to ripenes: which thing, without controuerſie, they had obteyned, if they had not feared to fall into daunger, & if the people, and all the Prouinces (who perceaued, and ſawe before hande a farre of, that this pacification, ſhould be the groundworke of their libertie, and the reſtitution of their auncient priuiledges) had not, as it were with one voyce, inforced them to conclude the ſame. And, becauſe (my Lordes) often times in this execrable Proſcription, and in their little, fooliſhe, diffamatorie libelles, and ſecret letters, they obiect vnto me, that I haue violated and broken the ſame: Let vs ſee, howe they on their behalfe, haue mainteyned and kept it. It was no ſooner confirmed by othe, but that the Lorde of Hauſsi, accotding to your commaundement, made ſundrie voyages into Zelande to mee, that he might obteine ſuccour of men, and munitions of warre, for the ſiedge of the Caſtle of Gaundt, one of the neſtes, of the Spaniſhe crueltie, which thing he alſo obteined. But, a certaine man, vnworthie of his ſtocke and of his countrey, could not conteine himſelfe, but at the ſame time began to vomite his venim, charging with a faulte the ſaide Lorde, in recópence of ſo good a ſeruice, & which was in deede the very gate, to the libertie of the countrie and Countie of Flaunders, and namely of the Towne of Gaunt, whiche had bin ſo long time before, kept vnder by tyrannie: and it was a matter of no great account, to the ſaide Sweueghen, to the Countie of Reus, Mouqueron, and others, that the Spaniardes, yet all bloodie with the murther of Antwerp, & laden with the ſpoyles, of good Burgeſſes and Citizens, ſhoulde perfourme a like execution in the Towne of Gaunt, as they had committed in the moſt renowmed town of Antwerp: which thing alſo they had executed and performed, (as the letters of Rhoda and others, do ſufficiently proue) had not the ſaide ſuccour hindered them. Marke I pray you, howe that euen then when the Trumpet ſounded, for to publiſhe the Pacification of Gaunt,

The Lorde of Haulſi, ſent into Zealand to demaund ſuccour of the L. Prince, for the ſiege of the Caſtle of Gaunt.

theſe

theſe honeſt people began to breake the ſame. Herevpon Don Iohn arriued in theſe Countreys, and albeit that mine enemie would heere playe the falſifier, and alter the matter: haue not I yet the letter ſigned with the Kings owne hande, and with the hande of one of the Secretaries of his eſtate, & ſealed with the ſeale of his armes, whiche yeelde teſtimonie concerning the charge and commiſsion giuen to Don Iohn? Haue not they bin publiſhed to all the world? Was there yet euer any Spaniarde founde, that durſt contend againſt him? By thoſe letters we haue knowne, that all the difference, betweene Don Iohn, the Duke of Alua, and Lewis of Requeſens was this, that hee was more young, and more fooliſhe, than the others, and that he could not ſo long time hide his venime, diſſemble his attemptes, & withhold his greedie handes, from the deſire that hee had, to wet and waſhe them in our blood. I will not (my Lordes) make in this place any recitall of theſe matters vnto you, for they are knowne vnto little children, and al the land, is as it were, watered therewith. Albeit then that theſe things were ſet out before the whole worlde: and albeit that the pacifiers knewe and vnderſtood the ſame: Notwithſtanding the inueterate hatred towardes this poore people was ſo great (ſo much were they accuſtomed, to aide thē that oppreſſed your priuiledges, and to ſubiect themſelues to tyrannie, was euen become altogether naturall vnto them) that euen like horſeleaches, foming with rage, they themſelues came to laūce thē ſelues, vpon the thorne of the bloodie hart of Don Iohn, and agreed, with him, againſt mine aduiſe, and the aduiſe of them of Hollande and Zealand, and againſt their owne othe taken, againſt the pacification of Gaunt, and yet theſe men dare obiect vnto me the pacification & mine othe, as though thoſe bandes had bin prepared, onely to ſhakell me, and my Lordes of Holland and Zealande, whileſt that thoſe good and loyall peacemakers, hauing broken all bond of lawes, of loyaultie, and of fidelitie, might haue libertie to perpetrate, commit, and doo, whatſoeuer their diſloyall hearte, ſhoulde put them in minde of. They will ſaye, that they cauſed Don Iohn to promiſe, that the Spaniardes ſhoulde departe; as though

the comming of Don Iohn.

that all our agreement and league, consisted in that onelie point. But before they had concluded with Don Iohn, should not they haue placed me, in my gouernementes, and put mee in possession of my goods, and restored mee my Sonne, who was one of the number of the prisoners? Haue they so much as onely thought vpon it, though that sundrie amongest them were kinne vnto him? No whit at all in deede. For they had a farre other marke, which thing they themselues did sufficiently declare, by so many consultations as they made, that they might at the length finde out away to oppresse mee, and to bring Hollande and Zealande vnder subiection, knowing, that at the same time, I yet onely, and the Estates of the saide countreis, were they which did openly hinder their pernitious purposes, which was, to enter in the place of the Spaniards, to exercise the like tyrannie that the Spaniards had done, but yet as they thought, with more power and authoritie, and also, that they might remaine in their own countries with greater impunitie. Concerning this matter, I referre my selfe to the instructions giuen to those which came to treate with mee, at Saint Geertrudenberghe, which I will bring to light, if neede be thereof.

At the same time, they sent to the Queene of Englande, that they might fill hir with al false matters against me, and also moue hir to arme hir selfe against me and my Lordes, the Estates of Hollande and Zealande: But the knowledge that she had of the trueth, and the singular wisedome, wherewith shee is indued, made hir to take a cleane contrarie resolution, then that which they hoped of. To be short, they deuised as much as they could, to execute and perfourme against vs, the same practises that the Spaniardes had done, and this (my Lords) was the obseruation of the Pacification of Gaunt, that these men vsed euen from the beginning. And as concerning the Spaniards, which Don Iohn told them he had sent awaye, they sawe (at the least if they had any vnderstanding, though neuer so little, for they wanted not aduertisement and intelligence) that some staied in Luxembourgh, other some in Burgundie, and other some in Fraunce, vnder the shadowe of the

The Spaniards licensed by Don Iohn to returne,

ciuile

ciuile warre, which was at that time rayſed vp in fraunce, looking onely for their watchwoorde, that they might returne againe in an inſtant, whiche thing alſo they did. Beſide this, they knew, that Don Iohn reteined with him fourteene thouſande Germanes, of the old ſouldiours, which he kept in garriſon, in the principall Townes of the Countrey: that at Malines, he treated with the ſaide Germanes: that he ſpake one thing to them, and another thing to you my Lordes: and did in the meane while, take the Caſtle of Antwerp, from the power of the Duke of Aerſchot, and of the Prince of Chimai, his ſonne, and left it in the handes of Treſlon. They ſawe I ſaye, theſe thinges, and did not withſtanding ayde and fauour him therein, and yet they will ſay that they kept the pacification of Gaunt. For, as concerning that which mine enemies ſaye, that Don Iohn ſware vnto it, I confeſſe further, that the King himſelfe promiſed, it ſhoulde be obſerued, which maketh him ſo much the more vanquiſhed, for euen at the ſame time, hee commaunded Don Iohn to breake it, as appeareth by his own letters.

Fourteene thouſand Lanceknights leſt by Don Iohn in garriſon, in the principall townes.

And as concerning Don Iohn, true it is, that he promiſed and ſware, to ſee the ſame perfourmed, but that was with a condition, which he ſpake of before hande, in the preſence euen of ſome of your Deputies, which ſhoulde be added, to witt, that it ſhould be kept vntill ſuch time, as he repented him thereof, which condition fell out very quicklie afterwarde. For, this young man, ſuppoſing that he was at the topp of his buſineſſe, and that he had in his handes (by reaſon of the garriſons of Germains, and ſundrie traytours taking parte with them) the beſt Townes, tooke (but yet not without doing, an vnwoorthie iniurie to the Queene of Nauarre) the Caſtle of Namure, a place which he thought was verie fitte and neceſſarie, for the Spaniardes to go and come. But ſo ſoone, as the Caſtle of Antwerp, was by cõpoſition yeelded vp vnto you, he founde himſelfe farre from his reckoning, which cauſed him at one time to loſe, many friendes, who began euen than to chaunge their copie and countenaunce: and Don Iohn was thereby made, ſo perplex and doubtfull, that he had no other

Don Iohn ſware to the pacification of Gaunt.

ſuccour, but this, that, hauing corrupted ſome of your owne Deputies, he might protract the time, and buſie you, with a painted hope of peace. And I would to God, that at that time yee (my Lordes) had not bin hindered, by theſe good obſeruers of the pacification of Gaunt, frō beleeuing my counſell, for then, by a verie ſmall armie, wee might haue bin quit and ridde of Don Iohn, of his Spaniardes and adherentes, and of ſo many miſeries, as ſince haue inſued. I woulde then yet further knowe, in this place (my Lords) whether Don Iohn did then keepe this Pacification, & his Vnion ſo ſolemnely ſworne (as they ſay) which he had made, with theſe fauourers of the Spaniardes. And why ſhall he come to vpbraide me with the Pacification of Gaunt, which yet hath cauſed this to be declared vnto vs, by the Lorde of Selles, that he woulde not keepe it? Shall he to my hurt, enioy a priuiledge, which he himſelfe renounceth and forſaketh? And when we haue ſaide all, it is not with him, that I, and the Eſtates of Hollande and Zealande, haue contracted and accorded, but it is with you (my Lordes.) Now, if after ſo many breaches of the Pacification, and that in ſuch ſundrie ſortes: if after that contrarie to the ſaid Paeification, they haue deſtroyed the Townes, where they could exerciſe their tyrānous gouernment, and the beſt Burgeſſes and Citizens therein, alleading againſt them falſe and wicked thinges: If then I ſaye, after theſe thinges, you (my Lordes) haue iudged, that for your owne ſuretie, you ought to inlarge ſome of the articles, yea and if neede were, that you were minded, altogether to breake, cut in ſunder, and reuoke them: who is he that could accuſe you therefore, If yee haue vſed that which was your own, as you your ſelues thought it conuenient for your owne profit, vnleſſe it be he, which would vſe his owne othe, as a nette and ſnare to catche you in? For as concerning that which they ſay, that the chaunge hath bin on my behalfe: though that were true, yet ſo it is, that I am no more bounde, in reſpect of the contractours with me, ſeeing that they haue ſo manie waies, violated and broken the contracte it ſelfe: and ſeeing that on your part, it was thought conuenient, that the chaunge ſhoulde be made, you haue as

much

much authoritie and power to disposse thereof, as a Lord hath right in his own inheritaunce: for the Pacification was yours, which also you might vse, at your own pleasure & discretion.

But I haue so oftentimes, both by worde and writing declared, nothing to be broken on our partes, that I shall not neede to bestowe any more time, to sett out the same vnto you: Onely I will confesse this, that they of Hollande and Zelande were in deede forbidden, to innouat or chaunge anye thing in that Countrey: but that the other Estates, might not in their prouinces, by some lawfull condition, prouide for their safetie, it will neuer be founde that there was as yet anie such obligation or bonde: which thing may be manifestlie seene and knowen, by the reading of the eleuenth and the twelueth Article. And in deede, vpon the making of the said Pacificatiõ, as one of those which were Deputies on our side, did declare vnto some one of the principall persons of the other side, that some such matter might fall out, and that therefore it was better, to accorde some libertie, for the poore subiectes of the Prouinces, whose causes they handled, and for whom they were to make agreement: so some other aunswered him againe, that he needed not take care for such matters, and that those of Brabant, Flaunders, and the other Countreis, would not at any time demaunde a chaunge in the matter of Religion. Nowe, if they haue bin deceiued, what cause is there for thẽ so furiouslie, to direct them selues against me? I giue them also the same aunswere, in respecte of the chaunge which fell out, in certaine Townes of my gouernmẽt, for I can in deed assure mẽ before god, that I haue not giuen any aduise or consent thereto: & that many things fel out there, as also in Flaũders, which pleased me no whit at all: and I do defende it against thẽ, that if there haue bin, some souldierlike insolencie & violẽce, that that was nothing, but sweete smelling roses, in respect of the intollerable excesses, which thei haue cõmitted: and also at the least, that we haue not had on our parte, any infidelitie or treason, or intelligence with the Spaniards, as our enemies on their parte haue had. For haue not they, against their faith & promise, with an armed power begune a warre,

Nothing was attẽpted by the L. Prince, the Estates generall, & those of the religiõ, against the pacification of Gaunt.

The Beginning of the warr of the Malcontentes euen then, when they were readie within 2. daies, to driue away Don Iohn.

and assaulted their confederates, when we were, within twoo dayes readie to giue battaile to our enemies? Haue not they pursued the execution of their cõplot and conspiracie against their confederates, and declared their defection and falling away, at that time, when the good town of Maestricht was besieged: Was there euer anie detestable and vile acte in the worlde, and is it not this? Euen then, when you your selues looked for the forces & powers of your confederates, to succour a good towne besieged, with which they were entred into a sworne league: and of which, they could not in any sort, eyther wrongfully or rightly complaine: Euen then I say, they did not onely destitute and forsake you, but also made warre vpon you, and that as whotly and as fiercely as they coulde. The stories report, that Suffetius was drawen in peeces with foure horses, because he stirred not, but only looked on, when Tullus Hostilius his confederate, fought the fielde: then what Gibbettes, and what punishmentes can a man deuise, which might be sufficient to correct, this vnfaithfulnes and treason? And whose treason? Those (my Lordes) who before had laide their hands, vpon the Countie of Mansfelt, Viglius, Fonc. Assonuille, Berti, and others of the Councell of Estate, then whé I was not so straitely bound vnto them, as since I haue bin, & was not yet come into Brabant: Those I say, that by such laying handes vpon them, had giuen al the world to vnderstand, what iudgementes they had concerning the king and his coũsaile: Leauing it to you (my Lordes) to iudge, what great consideration, there is in such people, that whileſt we make warre they cannot foresee, that they sharpen the swordes of those, whó they had taken prisoners, to take away their owne heads. They will say, that I haue not shewed my selfe to be an enemie against them of our side, who haue passed the bounds set thé. Verely I haue not approued the excesse of any, but doo they thinke that I am so vnwarie, as that for to shewe them a pleasure, I wil open a gapp to the destruction of the Countrey, and so make Escouedo a prophete? Haue they euer heard that a wise father, for the contentment of his enemie, woulde seeke the ruyne of his children? Nay rather this is his duetie, to cor-

The continuance, during the siedge of Maestricht.

rect the

rect the faults, and in amending of them, to labor the preseruation of his familie and houshold.

But Bours, Montigni, and others, doe not they knowe the duties that I haue performed, to establish euery thing in good order? Haue they forgotten the Articles, agreed vppon, euen such as they them selues demaunded, & which since that time they haue broken against their othe? It is then rage, follie, ambition, hatred against the religion, & desire to gouerne, which hath caried away their heartes, and tossed them as it were with madnes; and which hath first moued them: and which since that time they haue couered, with the cloake of the Pacification of Gaunt. For I knowe (my Lordes) howe hardly they were distressed, and what labor they tooke, to cloake and colour their enterprise, and that a simple Captaine, did in this counsaile open a gappe vnto them, who was immediatelie followed.

I know, that sundrie will thinke it a newe & straunge thing, that children of so good a house, issuing from suche fathers, shoulde so farre forget them selues, as to heape vp such reproches vpon their owne stocke: yea some I thinke will thinke it vnbeleeueable, that euer there could be founde, such great inconstancie in them: and for mine owne part, I cannot chuse, but be greatly sorie for it, by reason of the good will and reuerence, which I haue born to their fathers: and the desire which I haue had to see them aduaunced, in al vertue, honor and reputation (which thing they might haue atteyned, if they had onely learned to forbeare but a little while, and to beare some part of the miserie of their countrey) and I would yet in deede desire, that they might become so wise, that by a good repentaunce, they might amende the faultes past. But to the ende that I may not speake, of sundrie their particular actions, whiche are not come to the sight of al the world, and are notwithstanding full of inconstancie and lightnes: if we come to consider that which euery one knoweth, and is laide out before the eyes of al the world, who is he that can sufficiently inough marueile, at the inconstancie and vanitie of their resolutions? They serued the Duke of Alua, and the great Commandador?

as ser-

as ſeruantes or pages, and they made warre againſt me, with all extremitie: a little while afterwards, they treated with mee, and reconciled them ſelues, and then (loe) they were the Spaniardes enemies. Don Iohn came, they followe him., they ſerue him, and they indeuour and practiſe my deſtruction. Don Ion failed in his enterpriſes, concerning the Caſtle of Antwerp, incontinently they forſake him & call me: I was no ſooner come, but contrarie to their othe, without communicating any thing thereof, either to you (my Lordes) or to me, they call my Lorde Matthias the Archduke: Hee being come, they ſawe that they could not come to their marke, therefore they left him, and without aduertiſing him any thing at all thereof, they goe to ſeeke my Lorde the Duke of Aniou: they bring him in, and they promiſe him wonderfull thinges. They ſaw, that they could not bring him to this point, to make him a Captaine againſt you (my Lords) and them of the religion, then they left him, and ioyned themſelues to the Prince of Parma. Are there any waues of the Sea more Inconſtant? Is there any *Euripus more vncertaine, than the counſels of ſuch people, who thincke that they are ſo highely ſet: ſo much lifted vp: and ſo ſtrengthened, that it ſhould be lawful for them, to playe and dallie, in ſuch ſort with Princes, of ſuch qualitie and calling? If then they haue done ſuch thinges (as all the worlde knoweth they haue) aſſure your ſelues, that there is nothing ſo light and vaine, but they will enterpriſe & attempt it. And what could they haue committed more greeuous, thé to haue conſented to this wicked Proſcription, which was framed againſt his head and life, who had helped and healed theirs, and cauſed their poſſeſsions and goodes, to be reſtored to the principall amongſt them? And beleeue (my Lords) that this is not the laſt pranck they will play. For, though they ſhould very quickly confeſſe it, (which thing I alſo deſire) yet ſhall you finde them more then tenne times, chaunge their horſe and their ſaddle, before that this buſineſſe be ridde and ended.

*It is a part of the Sea, which floweth ſeué times a daie with ſuch great force, that it eatieth ſhips with full ſaile againſt the winde.

As concerning that, which they obiect againſt me, *That I ceuſed my ſelfe by force & tumult to be choſē Gouernour of Brabāt.*

You

You(my Lordes)do remēber,that I neuer ſpake to you thereof:and that I haue not any maner of way,prouoked you therto: and on the contrary ſide, you remēber (I hope)the great withſtanding that I vſed,& my plaine declarations & ſpeaches made to the contrarie: and alſo as concerning the eſtate of Lieuetenaunt generall, that I ment to haue had the aduiſe & conſent,of the gouernours which were in the army, & which being very ſhortly after tumultuouſlie and diſorderly hādeled (I minde not nowe to tell by whoſe faulte)was ſent mee,euen as I yet haue it,ſigned with their owne handes. Now,if ſome of the people,preferred & promoted this choice,& yet I neither intreating nor prouoking them thereto,ſhal I miſlike the therefore? Nay rather,I am inforced to cōfeſſe,that they were more wiſe,and better foreſeeing to the affaires of this Countrey,then I was at that time. For they well vnderſtood,that if they ſhould leaue the handeling of the matters,and the adminiſtration of the publike cauſe,in the handes of theſe men, that were become Spaniardes as it were,and ſo greatly affected towardes them: it ſhould be nothing els,but to build vpon the quick ſand,a ground worke not ſtrong inough, to ſet ſuch a frame & building vpon. And it is as true that they ſay, that by the tumultes of Gaunt, I was choſen Gouernour of Flaunders,for it bewrayeth a verie ignoraunce of our affaires: becauſe that the foure members or partes of that Prouince, did chuſe me,not once,but ſundrie times,and that not while the tumultes laſted,but ſince that the matters, were wel quieted:yea and they themſelues, haue oftētimes ſued for it,both to me and to you, and yet to this preſent I haue not minded to accept it.

The eſtate of Gouernour of Brabant & lieutenant generall.

The gouernement of Flaūders offered to the Lorde Prince, & yet not accepted.

Alſo,I do not(my Lordes)thincke it reaſonable,to anſwere concerning the meanes and money leuied by you,and which, according to your aduiſe,were gouerned vnder your authoritie,by your treaſurers,commiſſioners,and receauers, without that I,or any of mine,did euer ſee pennie thereof. But if anie muſt bee blamed for it, is the enemie himſelfe,who hath inforced you to vſe, and ſeeke meanes for your owne defence. And if he,to the end he may execute miſchiefe,exerciſe tyran-

Of the moneyes leuied by my Lordes the eſtates,& how they were diſtributed.

mie, and oppresse your libertie, doe bestow so great and excessiue charge and expenses: why should not you bestowe some cost, to doe good thinges, to represse the Tyraunt, and to preserue your Priuiledges and your libertie, which cannot be valued? And if the matter be, to giue vp all that we haue, euē to the vttermost farthing, and to the last dropp of our blood: what should we doe, but that, wherevnto wee are holden and bound? and whereof we haue in auncient Histories, so manie goodly examples, as well of straungers, as of our braue and valiaunt Predecessors and Aunce stors? But so farre off is it, that wee should leaue off, that on the other side, seeing we see that which pricketh and prouoketh thē that that is it, which wee should take vnto our selues, thereby to endeuour and to encourage our selues to goe forwarde. For to aunswere that which he saith, that I haue committed to prison, and caused to be slaine, some of them that gainsaid these contributions, I suppose it is not needfull to answere them to this, before you (my Lordes) who know, that these are manifest slaunders: and who know also, that I haue beene more blamed, for my ouer great gentlenesse and patience, in tollerating sundrie wicked persons, who by their subtilties and secrete practises, hinder our affaires, then I haue bin accused of mine enimie, for my rigor and hardnesse. But if that which they obiect against me were true, there are sundrie, which speake at this day very hye, and for whose sake the threedes and snares haue bin cut: and I doe notwithstanding as yet not repent me, that I haue so vsed them, but will alwayes reioyce, that I haue had a mind readie rather to receaue iniurie, then to doe it, not doubting but that God, who is a iust Iudge, will bring vppon the heades of these traiterous and disloyall people (who did eate bread with vs, and were partakers of our counsels, and notwithstanding at this present, are in their counsell against vs) the reward and recompence of their wickednesse, as alreadie vengeance pursueth them, with a perpetuall disquietnesse, vexation, and tossing of spirite.

As concerning the businesse or matter, which the Lorde of

Scilles,

Seelles tooke vppon him to deale for, and whiche alſo was knowne, to be full of diſſimulations and deceites: to anſwere this, it appertayneth to you (my Lordes) who haue ſo wiſelye diſcouered his fraudes: and who haue cauſed him to vnderſtande, that thoſe that haue not ſeene Spaine, are not for all that beaſtes, as he and ſuch as he are, doe ſuppoſe: to you I ſay it belongeth to anſwere this, becauſe that this accuſation is directed againſt you. I confeſſe, that I was of the ſame mind that you are, that he was no more to be truſted, than a beguiler and a deceiuer: and that he was to be taken, as an inſtrument choſen to bring all to diuiſion and diſorder: vpon which point to reſolue my ſelf, no man holpe me, ſo much as he himſelfe. For, in that that he tolde me, that I was ſo muche in the Kinges fauour, as that there was no Lord in theſe quarters, of whome he had better opinion than of mee, and whome hee would imploy ſo much as me: this made me more and more to thinke, that they woulde gladly haue taken away my heade and life, if I would haue let it gone ſo good cheape, as this fellow ſo greatly affected to the Spaniards, would haue perſwaded mee. The negotiation of the L. of Seeles.

I confeſſe, I ſay, that I was of the ſelfe ſame opinion that you were: and that you haue moſte wiſely reſolued vppon this point, to wit, that, according to the example of that wiſe Capitaine, you haue ſtopped your eares, againſt the Sirenes or Myrmaides of Spaine. But what ſay I, that I haue bin of this aduiſe? Thoſe miſerable men, that haue conſented to this curſed proſcription, haue not they alſo reſiſted his attemptes as well as I? The very ſelfe ſame Magiſtrates, which haue cauſed this Proſcription to be publiſhed, haue not they alſo reiected the Lord of Seeles, and all his trifling tales? which is ſufficient ynough to anſwere that, which they ſay, concerning *the changing of the Catholique Officers.*

The changing of the Officers.

And would to GOD, that I had had power, or that by the headlongneſſe or haſtineſſe of ſome, I had not bin lette and hindered, from procuring and perfourming ſuche a chaunge in euery place: for then there had not followed, ſo great a floudde of euilles, as ſince wee haue ſeene, by

reason of the disiunction & discord of the Prouinces, which, it is to be feared, least it will dayly more and more growe, to the generall destruction of the Countrey: at the least I hope, that if the prouinces, who haue so wickedly forsaké vs, do not repent them of so great a fault, they shall perceaue, that there was neuer any man better corrected for wicked counsell, then they that haue first giuen the same. And cócerning this point, I wil not sticke at it, to aunswere this slaunder, that I haue, and that by mine owne priuate authoritie, put into charge and office the saide officers, seeing that in euery place, where I haue bin assistaunt in the chaunging of the lawe, I haue therein executed onely that charge and office, which it hath pleased you to giue me, and that as your Commissioner, and Deputie, doing nothing therein against the lawes & priuiledges. In deede I will confesse, that I sought as much as possible I coulde, to bring in and to place in these offices, vertuous people, honorable personages, men of good conscience, and aboue all louers of the countrey. But I knowe what wringeth and pricketh them, that is, that I did not willingly fauour those, which they had in their owne corde, people without faith, without godlines and honestie towardes their Countrey, yea bloodie people, and slaues to execute their tyrannie. And this is that (my Lordes) which these men call confusion, to wit the good rule and gouernement of our common wealth, according to our lawes, which also are as contrary to their barbarous intentes and purposes, as the day is to the night. And in deede (my Lordes) there is no great neede, to answere such obiections, seeing that our owne enemie doth sufficiently aunswere them for vs. For, who were these officers, of whom they saye, we haue discharged and vnburdened our selues? *They were* (say they) *well affected to the King*. Which is as much as if they shoulde say, they were good enemies to the Countrey: and by this (my Lordes) you vnderstand, that it was verie well done to chaunge them, in sundrie places and quarters.

They vpbraide me, *with the great credite that I haue amongest the people*. So farre of is it, that I am ashamed of this, that I am verie sorie that I haue not as yet attained more, that is to saye,

that

that I haue not well knowen, howe to perſwade them to doo that, which I haue ſo oftétimes ſet before them, both by word and writing. For, it is long time ſince, that I would (thorowe the ayde of God) haue cleanſed the countrey, from theſe filthes of Spaine. But if they be ſuch as they ſaye they are, and that I am ſuch a one as they deſcribe mee to be (for to ſhewe them ſome pleaſure, I will eaſely graunt them this point) they muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe, that their tyrannies and cruelties, haue bin wonderfully exceſſiue and outrageous in all ſortes, in that they haue incurred, ſuch a generall hatred of all that people, who before were ſo well affected, and hath bin ſo loyall and faithfull to their predeceſſors, & euen vnto them themſelues, before ſuch exceſſes were committed: and on the other ſide, that if the people haue willingly choſen me, to be the claimer and chalenger of their libertie, what other thing can men ſay: what ſhall the ſtraunge nation ſpeake: and what ſhall poſterity report but this, that there was in me ſomething, worthie of fauour and freendſhip, and in them ſomewhat woorthie of extreeme hatred? I confeſſe then, that I am, & that I will all my life long be popular, that is to ſay, that I will purſue, mainteine and defend, your libertie and your priuiledges. Thus you ſee, howe theſe wiſe braines, are vtterly voide of common wit and vnderſtanding. and how that euen then when they blame mee they praiſe me. True it is, that fiue or ſix il aduiſed perſons gathered together, being the enemies of your libertie, whoſe coũſelles, imaginations, and ſecret thoughtes, tende altogether to this, to ſeeke out the wayes, to make you ſubiect to their tyrãnie, which ſhoulde be more cruell, or at the leaſt more vnworthie and more ſlauiſhe, then that of the Spaniardes hath bin: that theſe men I ſay, meaſure the braine of all the worlde, by the elne of their owne vnderſtanding, and thinke that euerie one, will condemne that as euill, which they iudge to be ſo. But when the whole matter ſhall be weighed at the common beame and balaunce, thé they ſhall finde that they haue greatly miſrekoned them ſelues. For hee, whom they iudge vnworthie to liue, that he might profit the cõmon wealth (for what other thing is the common wealth, then the good of all the people)

Touching the authoritie of the L. Prince amongeſt the people.

people) they will make him thorow their own follie, ſo much the more honoured, as the people it ſelfe will more eſteeme of him that mainteineth them, than he that wouldeoppreſſe them.

The regard that the L. Prince hath alwayes had of Nobilitie.

I cannot alſo ſufficiently wonder at that, which they themſelues haue here forgotten: yet ſundrie baſe but wicked writers haue lyingly put downe, in their ſonde libels of diffamation againſt me, to wit, *that I hate Nobilitie*. For, ſhall I beginne this hatred at my ſelfe, my kinsfolkes, and friendes, who are (thanks be to God for it) al deſcended of a noble and famous race, and that ſo auncient, and of ſuch great riches and dignities, that I am not afraide to affirme, that ſundrie of mine enemies, cannot with any good right preferre themſelues before vs, and fewe amongeſt them, ſhall be found, that may be made equall with vs? But experience hath declared, whether I doe not that which is in my power for the aduauncement of Noble men. Now, if I haue long time ago foreſeene, that certaine ambitious heads (who ſince that time haue forſakē vs) would go about to take poſſeſſion, of certaine gouernments & charges, that ſo they might afterward abandon the countrey, and falſifie their othe: if I ſay I haue knowne their lightneſſe, vanitie and inconſtancie, and their affection alſo, tending to tyranie, and therefore ment not to fauour them, and ſo by that meanes I haue holpen to preſerue, the better and the greater, and the more ſound part of our eſtate: I haue not for all that hated or deſpiſed Nobilitie, but ment by good counſell, to preuent the deſtruction of the Countrey, which might haue followed. If their Fathers, who were more wiſe, more valiaunt, and more vertuous than they, and with whome I haue liued in ſuch good freendſhip: if, I ſay, they were now aliue, they would die with griefe, ſeeing their ſtocke ſo muche degenerating, from the conſtancie and vertue of their auncеſtors, who liued ſo honourably and without reproche: If they ſaw I ſay, that there is at this day no Countrey, wherein they are not counted, for inconſtant people, and great coopes men: If they ſaw, euen the Spaniardes whome they ſerue, and the Cardinall (who is the hindge, yea the Spindell whereupon the Mill



turneth)

turneth) to play with them, as it were with a ball: to make them as it were little children: to lead them by the nose like beastes; and to vphold them, till it bee time to demaunde againe their pictures, instruments, tapestrie, and other moueables, which they haue taken away, and euen so farre till they come to the point to be lead to the slaughter, euē as it appeareth by his owne letters written with his owne hande, whiche you (my Lordes) haue seene and doe know: If they sawe these things I say, what would they then do?

The Cardinal writeth to Morillon, that it is not yet time to caus Bourse and others, to yeeld an account.

And because that mine enemie (as though hee did distrust his owne authoritie, and that he doubted whether the waight of his owne titles would be sufficient to intrappe me) proceedeth yet further, and ioyneth the Emperours authoritie to them, and the credit also, of certaine of my Lordes, the ecclesiasticall Electors, saying, *that they had propoūded such reasonable articles, as euery man of good iudgement moulde deeme them to be such*; he knew not (in a worde my Lordes) to speake more thā you. What say I you? Nay then all the inhabitauntes of these Countries, who did with one voice refuse the saide Articles, as impertinent, captious, and vnreasonable, being without iudgement and voide of reason. But whome shall they be able to persuade, that a people beaten with such long warre (which cānot be without a million of inconueniences) would refuse a peace if it were reasonable? Or that good, yea very good subiectes, and suffering very much, would refuse to agree, with their superiour, except it be, when they see that suche agreementes, are baites to catch them? such a peace is worse then warre: and such sweete hony of the tongue, is more to bee doubted, then the steelie edge of swordes. It may be, that the Emperor, who thinketh such a condition and state to be fitte, in his own landes, that come to him by patrimonie, holdeth an opinió, that it should be likewise proper and fit for vs here. The Emperor was aduertised of our state, by our enemies, and by the traitors which were amongst vs, who also vnder the colour of an embassage to Colen, assaied to destroye all our matters. The Emperor informed other Princes, who trusted to his report, thinking that ꝑ which came frō this part, was an oracle

The treatie of Colen.

But

But you (my Lordes) who knowe the depth of the ſtate of theſe countries, the commodities or diſcommodities, the true cauſes of the vpholding, or of the ruyne thereof: who haue alſo much to looſe therein: who alſo are bounde by all lawes to the preſeruation thereof, haue otherwiſe iudged of thoſe articles: all the people was asked their aduiſe therein: and they did all with one cõſent, reiect thoſe conditions, as ouer vnreaſonable: and this was done, not in one towne onely, but in al. True it is, that we beſought the Emperors Maieſtie, the French King, the *Q*ueene of Englande, and the King of Portugale, to intreat for vs, that a good peace might be graunted vs, but to take that, as though we had ſubmitted our ſelues vnto them, we ſuppoſe not that any wiſe man would ſo thinke.

And as concerning *that forbidding, which they ſay was made, concerning the publication of the ſaid articles*: your patience & gentleneſſe ought greatly to bee prayſed, when you did not openly and for an example cauſe ſuch to be puniſhed, who were ſo raſh as to publiſh the ſame without your leaue: and ſo farre off is it, that wee feared the communicating, diuulging, and publiſhing of them, that on the contrary ſide, we cauſed them to be printed, with the declarations of their inſufficiencie, & they were ſent thorow all the Prouinces and Towns, that they might be deliberated vpon: and that the aduiſe and reſolution of all might be had. But there is great difference, betweene a thing communicated in order, by the way of right, and by the authoritie of them, which haue power ſo to doe: and betweene this, that certaine little Scoutes, ſhould priuilie caſt amongeſt the people, certaine litle Pamphlets, as ſome of them which were ſent to Collen about your ſeruice, cauſed vnder hand and cloſely to paſſe forth, thoſe thinges which they had negotiated, and treated off with the enemie, wherein they betrayed both you and the Countrey, as more largely appeareth by their owne Letters, whereof I will not ſpeake any further, becauſe that all is ſet abroade, and brought to euery mans ſight.

The Lorde Prince hindered not the communicating of the articles of Collin, to the people,

They thinke the vnion of the Prouinces, made at Vtrecht, to be wonderfully wicked and euill. And why ſo? Becauſe that

all

all that which is good for vs, is euill for them: and that which is healthfull for vs, is deadly for them. They had ſet all their hope, vpon a diſcord and diſagreement, & they had prouoked thereto ſome of the prouinces, who haue had as many delibe-rations & counſels, as there are moneths in a yere: beſide they had at their commaundement certaine peſtilent fellowes a-mongſt vs. What remedie then coulde a man deuiſe better, a-gainſt diſcention then vnion? And what counterpoiſon more certaine againſt their venim of diſcorde, then concorde? By meanes whereof, their purpoſes, their treacheries, their night counſels, their ſecrete intelligences, were all at one time ſcat-tered abroade, God (who is the God of peace and concorde) declaring therby how much he hateth ſuch deceitful tonges, and how he can eaſily ouerthrow, ſuch falſe and abhominable enterpriſes. You ſee (my Lordes) that I giue them a faire and large field, to crie out againſt me, and to ſcorne at me. I con-feſſe vnto them, that I haue procured the vnion: that I haue aduaunced and promoted the ſame: that I haue endeuored to maintain it, & I tell you (my Lords) yet, and I ſpeake it very plainly, and loude, that I like it well, that ſo not only they, but alſo all Europe ſhoulde vnderſtand it. Maintaine your vnion: keepe your vnion, but do it, but do it in deede (my Lords) that ſo you may execute, not in words, nor by writting only: but in effect alſo, that, which your ſheaf of arrows, tied with one bād only, doth meane, which ſheafe you beare in your ſeale. Let thé go now and accuſe me, that I haue brought all to confuſion, when I procured the vnion, for the doing of which matter, I wil neuer bluſh. For if vnder the ſhadow of a peace, they would bring forth vnto vs a diuiſion: if they would aſſemble them-ſelues, one while at Arras, another while at Montz, giuing vs alwayes faire wordes, and that to this ende, that they might ſunder themſelues from vs, and ſo drawe by their cordes vnto themſelues, light headed fellowes like vnto themſelues: wher-fore ſhould it not be lawfull for vs, on our owne behalfes, to ioyne and tie our ſelues together? Vnleſſe (as it may bee) they thinke, that they are permitted to doe euill, and to abandon the Countrey: and when I pray you? Euen when Maeſtricht

The vnion of the prouinces made at the time of the ſe-paration of Artois and Haynault.

was beſieged (will not yee, O yee poore people, feele, when ye ſhall reade theſe things, the hote yron, which ſhall burne your conſcience?) and that it was not lawfull for vs then, to doe good, and to heale the Countrey. Let vs then here (my Lords) learne that, which is profitable and neceſſarie for vs to learne: and let vs learne it of the greateſt enemie, that euer the countrey had, yea of the greateſt tyraunt of the whole earth.

Concerning the voyage of the L. Prince into Queriſſell, An. 1580.

They obiect vnto me afterwards a horrible crime, and worthie forſooth, of this more great Proſcription, than that which was pronoũced by Sylla & Carbo: that is, *that I departed not out of Antuerp for two yeeres ſpace, and that I went to Vtrecht.* A man may eaſily ſee, that they know very well what I doe, as though, that with their very great ſorrow & griefe, I had not in thoſe two yeres ſpace, traueiled twiſe into Flaunders, where by the aide of the foure members or partes of that Prouince, I placed better order in the ſaid Countrey, then they woulde or wiſhed. But go too, let vs graunt, that I did not for two yeres ſpace together, goe out of Antwerp: was not this a great fault to be alwaies nigh vnto you, that I might the better ſerue you in euery thing, which it pleaſed you to commaund mee? But I went to Vtrecht: beholde (my Lordes) the euill: beholde the byle or ſore, for this is the voyage, that woundeth them euen to the heart. They had before hande ſo wiſely purpoſed their matters: they had laide ſo ſure a foundation for their affaires and buſineſſe: they pleaſed themſelues ſo much therein: they writ thereof to their friendes: they helde in their handes ſo many countries and gouernments: they had written ſo many letters: and had vſed ſo many hirings, ſecrete intiſements, and open practiſes, as they thought all to bee ſure their owne: and yet I comming only to ſhewe my ſelfe at Vtrecht, with the good aſſiſtance and counſell of my Lords, the deputies of the Prouinces: behold that great miſt or fogge, was vaniſhed away: ſo many Caſtles as they had reſerued for their tyrannie, were beaten downe: and ſo many of our owne Townes aſſured to vs: they hauing for all, no other thing left vnto them, but one only Towne of importaunce, wherein was the Captayne of the enterpriſe: which towne notwithſtanding hee knew

knew not howe to make ſubiect to his commaundement, but by an abhominable murther, of one, whom hee called his father: who the euening before, had ſet at his table, he as a Iudas dealing with him vnder a falſe kiſſe. And this (my Lordes) is the cauſe, that maketh them crie ſo loude, yea this is the Helena, for which they fight.

And as concerning that, which they obiect againſt me, *that I haue driuen out ſome of the eccleſiaſticall perſons or church men:* you (my Lordes) knowe, that this is not true. But when theyr Captaine, who is in Groeningen, had taken priſoners ſome of the religion, and had murthered other ſome, yea the verie Bourgmaiſter, and all this, contrary vnto his othe: hauing alſo before time, brought in & ſworne vnto, the new religion (as they call it): and hauing ſolemnely, and that with his othe, and his ſign, and his ſeale confirmed, the vnion of Vtrecht: al theſe things conſidered, who is he that will think it ſtrange, if thoſe on our ſide, ment what they coulde, on their owne parts to aſſure themſelues, ſeing that they ſaw the enemies, without any reuerence to their othe taken, to tread vnder their feet al holy and ſacred things, and with ſuch a perpetuall reproch to them and their raſe, to haue violated & broken, whatſoeuer iuſtice and equitie, doth as yet remaine in the worlde? And this wee may ſay at the leaſt, that no man cā iuſtly charge vs, that in the middeſt of thoſe troubles, which our enemies thēſelues haue ſtirred vp, that euer any of our ſide, proceeded or came to ſuch a heape of iniuſtice, as to wet their hands in the blood, of thoſe that were confederate to them, or of thoſe which ſtayed themſelues vpon their fidelities: which thing their Captaines haue done, yea and that with their owne handes.

Touching the Prieſts, driué out of the countrey of Frieſelande.

Concerning the Nobles, which he ſaith, *haue withdrawn thē ſelues out of the Countrey*, who is hee, which euer droue out ſo much as one of thē. But if the terrors of their own conſciences haue purſued them, & that they haue bin vexed by their owne feling, which (as it were infernall and helliſh furies) hath chaſed them from place to place, who ought to be accuſed therefore, but only they themſelues who ſecretly, diſloyally, and vnfaithfully, haue practiſed the deſtruction of their owne Countrey?

Concerning certaine noble men, that departed out of Frieſeland.

And would to God that they had sooner felt this burthen, and that they which remain, and are ouertaken with the like madnesse, might folow thé eué at the heeles, so should they deliuer vs from great trauaile, and the common wealth from feare, least some one time or other, they shoulde execute their pernitious purposes.

The roundnesse and plainesse of the L. Prince.

It is a ridiculous & fond thing, that they cal me hipocrit, who neuer in respect of them, hath vsed any dissimulatiõ. For while I was their friende, I haue freely foretolde them, that they twisted the threede of their own destruction, whilest that they attempted and tooke, these barbarous wayes of persecuting. And if their rage and vnmeasurable heate, ioyned with a contempt of vs, had not hindered them, from following my counsell: they had not bene brought to that state, in which they are at this present. When I was their aduersarie and enemie, for your libertie, I know not what hypocrisie they haue found in me, vnlesse they will call this hypocrisie, to make open warre vpon them, to take Townes from them, to driue them out of the Countrey: and without dissembling to doe against them, whatsoeuer the lawe of warre suffred me? But, if it please you (my Lordes) once againe to reade my defence, which I published three yeeres ago, you shall see there, the Letters of a King, who is a deceiuer and an hypocrite, and who thought to catch me then, in the snare of his sweete and deceaueable Letters, as he supposeth at this present to astonishe me, with his threates and thunders of words. But, thanks be to God, I haue a counterpoison, against both the one and the other venim.

The L. Prince accused of diffidence or distrust.

They proceede afterwards, with a great heape of foolishe wordes, to amplifie this matter, *that I stay and ground my selfe vpon a certaine diffidence and distrust*. Though I did so, should I be for all that, like vnto Caine and Iudas as he accuseth mee? No verely. For it is one thing to dispaire of the promises, and of the grace of God, who cannot lie, & an other thing not to beleeue, the words of a subtile and deceitful man, who keepeth not faith or loyaltie, as the poore Moores of Grenado, may speake too much thereof: and also, as the death of the Lordes, the Counties of Egmont and Hornes, of blessed memorie,

morie,do giue ſufficient prooſe thereof. But if theſe good deuines,ſuch as the Cardinall is (who is one of the foundations of his Church) had thorowly founded, for the true and nigh cauſe of the ruine and fall of Iudas and Caine, they ſhoulde haue found, that it was diſpaire,whither by the grace of God, I haue not bin brought,& I hope neuer ſhalbe. On the other ſide,if men,woulde looke vpon,the monſtrous and thundring ſpeeches which are vſed,in this not barbarous only,but more then turkiſh Proſcription;ſhall they not finde therein, the verie ſtile of deſperate perſons, ſuch as we heare the Poets vſe, when they bring in furious and mad men. They then haue the ſeared conſcience of Iudas,the aſtoniſhed conſcience of Cain, and the reproued conſcience of Saule. You ſee notwithſtanding(my Lords)the great wiſedome of theſe wiſe heads,diffidēce or diſtruſt,ſay they,is a common thing to al wicked perſons. But I ſpeake vnto thee (O Cardinall) who haſt ſpente ſo much time in the Scholes,and I bid thee tell me,whether thou call not this learning,to wit, to be from a mans youth inſtructed, to lie and deceiue? I demaund then of thee, what thou wilt anſwere to the moſt ſtrong and ſententious of al orators, and to the greateſt louer of his Countrey,who ſayth(as I haue vnderſtoode it from my youth, by all learned men) that the greateſt and ſureſt fortreſſe, that a free people can haue,againſt a tyraunt, is diffidence and diſtruſt? And this ſpeeche was directed againſt one called Philip, who had learned but a litle tyrannie,in reſpect of thy Lord Philip,who exceedeth all other tyrantes,and for whome,no oration pronounced againſt Philip,is ſufficiently worthy,no not that,which for the excellency of it,is called Diuine. I know thou wilt aduiſe and take counſel concerning this matter, and in the meane while I will ſpeake, I will write,and I will cauſe to be ingraued in euery place, this notable ſentence, worthie of eternal remembrāce: and would to God, that I might be better beleeued,than that good Orator was,amongeſt his people,who ſuffring themſelues to be buſied and abuſed,by people like vnto thy ſelfe,& other ſuche wretched workers of confuſion (which are at thy commaundement, and haue ſet on ſale their tongues and pennes) were

at the laſt ſnared, & vtterly brought to confuſion. But I hope (my Lordes) better thinges of your conſtancie and courage.

And as good Orators, doe alwaies keepe towardes the end, ſome ſtrong and pearcing reaſon: and as good Captaines, leaue their beſt Souldiars in the laſt rankes: ſo theſe ſo ſkilfull and ſo much exerciſed men, come at the laſt to entangle and ſnare me, with the waight of a great and a greeuous reproch. *They haue offred me* (they ſay) *great commodities, to the ende that I might depart to the place wher I was born, where euery one ought to deſire moſt to liue, to the which I ment not to conſent.* What could they ſay (my Lordes) which might make more for mee than this? conſider I pray you their follie, or their ſhameleſneſſe. For this muſt needes be, eyther that they ſpeake ſhameleſlie, or els that they are ſo voyde of good vnderſtanding, that they praiſe me, when they thinke to blame me. *It is a pleaſant thing for euery one to liue in his own countrey*, wherfore thé, doth this curſed race of Spaniardes, go from countrey to countrey, to torment and to trouble all the world? But if, in reſpecte of ſo many bondes, as I am bound vnto you by, I preferre your ſeruice, (as I ought) before the Countrey wherin I was borne: am I therefore to be counted a traitor and a wicked man, and the publique plague of the worlde? And yet notwithſtanding you know, that euer ſince I was an eleuen or twelue yeres old, I haue bin nouriſhed and brought vp amongeſt you, and not elſe where, in ſomuch that his countrey, is become as it were my naturall countrey. If then, they haue made me ſundry promiſes: if they haue offred me (as they ſay) great commodities, and I haue notwithſtanding refuſed the ſame: what can they condemne in me, except it be my conſtancie and fidelitie, towardes God and the Countrey, which I haue preferred before all the goods in the world? Thinke not (my Lordes) that I loue to be ſo continually occupied in trauaile and labour, or like to heare, ſo many wicked ſpeeches and ſlaunders, on the behalfe of mine enemies: and (which is more) that I would heare thé of them, that ought to be my friendes and are bounde vnto me: or that I take delight, to be ſo long time depriued of my goodes: to ſee my ſonne ſo long kept in cruell priſon: to beholde

The offers which the enemies ſay haue bin made to the L. Prince, to cauſe him to depart out of the Coũtrey.

holde my ſelfe charged with ſuche infinite debtes, and yet ſhoulde be able to put an ende, to ſo great difficulties and diſtreſſes, and would not: or that I ſhoulde not bee like vnto other men of the earth, who all preferre quietneſſe before trauaile, and proſperitie before affliction. But what? If I can not obtaine ſuch bleſſings, and ſo bleſſed a condition without betraying you, without forſaking you, without giuing you ouer (as much as might be) for a pray, into the teeth of theſe bloodie woolues: let the reſt of the world pardon mee (for I know that you approue me, and that I neede no excuſe before you) if I will not, either for goods, or for life, or for wife, or for children, mingle in my drink, one onely droppe of the poiſon of treaſon. But, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God, to giue mee any droppe of blood, one penniworth of my goods, any vnderſtanding, induſtrie, credite and authoritie, how ſmall ſo euer it bee: I will imploye: I will dedicate: and I will conſecrate the ſame wholy vnto your ſeruice. Notwithſtanding, ſeing they vpbraid me with ſuch thinges, I will yet tell you (my Lordes) that they haue not done any ſuch thing, without borrowing ſomewhat of the truth, & going beyond it alſo, according to their good cuſtome. For ſuch offers as they ſpeake of, were as yet neuer made me, not but that I haue bin, well and ſurely aduertiſed, that I could not demaunde any thing, in reſpect of mine owne particular, but that they would yeelde the ſame vnto me: that they would promiſe to ſet my ſonne at libertie: to leaue him all my eſtates: to aſſign vnto me in Germany, ſo much goods as I haue here, as well in reſpect of that which I poſſeſſe, as of that which is helde from me: to diſcharge me of my debtes, which are verie greate, and to giue me in readie Coyne, a million of Money, and good aſſurances for all theſe thinges.

NB. A noble ſpeech and re- ſolution, yet now forgotten By ſome who would caſhier his poſterity

Theſe bee (my Lordes) the goodlie offers whiche haue eaſilie turned them aſide, which are departed awaye from vs. But ſo farre of is it, that ſuche conditions were offered vnto me, that on the other ſide, they neuer knewe, eyther by the Letters of the Emperoures Ambaſſadour, or by his ſecrete practiſes, with ſome of my ſeruauntes, and ſundrie

of

of my neareſt kinsfolkes, or by the letters of the Commiſſioners: how to get this only at my hand, to wit, that I ſhoulde ſende particular articles, and that in myne owne name: but I haue alwaies anſwered, that if the peace might be concluded, as you (my Lordes) demaunded it, I ſhould be ſatisfied: I not minding to haue any other condition, either good or euill, than that which you accepted of: nor yet minding, neither directly nor indirectly, to ſunder my ſelfe from the common cauſe, vpon which I did iudge, that either my aduerſitie, or my proſperitie did depend.

Is not this a great fault, to vpbraide a man with this, that he is a good man? and that he is, as much loyall, conſtant, and aſſured, againſt all the winds of faire promiſes, as by gods grace he is, againſt all the floods of cruell threatnings?

Hitherto (my Lords) you haue heard, the accuſations, or rather the iniuries, wicked ſpeeches and ſlaunders, whiche they haue gathered together, againſt my honour and reputation. It ſhall belong to you (to whom only I thinke my ſelfe bound, by reaſon of my goods, of the ſtate wherein they are, and ſpecially of my othes) to iudge thereof as it ſhall pleaſe you: for I doe not refuſe, if I be found culpable, to receaue puniſhment: but if it fall out as I hope it will, that you iudge, that I am accuſed by tyraunts and ſlaunderers, then I ſhall eſteeme my meane, yet notwithſtanding my moſt loial, and my moſt faithfull ſeruice, to haue bin very well imployed.

The ſentence of the proſcription,

NOw then (my Lordes) vpon theſe fraile and weak foũdations, they come to build the ſentence of their Proſcription, and here they lay out all their tragicall eloquẽce: they thũder: they lighten: they ſtorme and rage: they doe as the Corebæ or furies doe in Theatres: they darte out all exectable words, and ſuch as haue bin kneded, in Cocyte, Styx, and Acheron, againſt this poore Captaine. But this, thankes be to God, doth aſtoniſh me as much, as the thunderings and lightninges of Pope Clement, throwne out of the mount Tarpeius, againſt my Predeceſſor, my Lord Prince Philebert, did aſtoniſh him: who ceaſed not for all that, to make him

him his Prisoner. For, after that I haue looked rounde about me, I finde that they are, but windes of wordes, and noyses, to make children afraid, rather then a man, who thorow Gods goodnes hath not lost his courage, for the rorings of all their canons, nor for their foure score thousand Souldiers, who were alwayes at the Duke of Alua his commaundement: nor yet for so many armies by sea: nor yet for so many treasons of the said Duke, or of his successor against me: nor for the treasons of the Dutchesse of Parme, who was before them: and yet not withstanding, this was in deede a more fearefull thing, than a vaine noise of such a great thunder, which so quickly vanished away and hurt no man. And it is sufficient for mee, shortly to say before you (my Lordes) and before all Europe, that euery Spanyarde, or euery one that fauoureth the Spanyardes, of what qualitie or condition soeuer hee bee (I respect not now any mans person) who hath saide, or shall saye, (as this infamous Proscription hath published it) *that I am a traytour, and wicked man*, that he speaketh falsly, and against the truth. In the meane while, let them forbid me, as long as they will, both fire and water, I, together with my friends, will not leaue of for all that, euen in despite of their rage, to liue as long as it shall please God, to giue vs grace: which God only hath in his power, my life and my death, and hath numbred all the heares of my head, whose great fauour and assistaunce, I haue felte, euen vntill this present time, and I hope that he will preserue me, euen vnto the end. As concerning the goods which I possesse, which also he giueth away (for hitherto, he hath bene so good a husband, that he will giue nothing of that, whiche hee hath violently taken from me) I hope, (God ayding me) that it shall cost them so deare to haue them: that they shall get others els where farre better cheape. As concerning my other goods, which he keepeth from me, I hope, that God will giue me grace, as well to dispossesse them thereof wholy, as I haue alreadie done of a good part: and that they haue neuer violently taken goods, from any poore Prince (albeit that they haue spoiled sundrie thereof) which shall lie and waigh more heauie vpon them.

The aunswere of the Lorde Prince, to the sentence of Proscription.

He promiseth *fiue and twentie thousande Crownes, either in lands, or in readie money, to him that shal yeeld me vp, into his cruell hands, dead or alyue, or to him which shal take my life from me.* But albeit, there hath heretofore no publication bin made of such a matter, vntill this present time: thinketh hee that I am ignoraunt, howe oftentimes he and his, haue bargained with murtherers and poysoners, to take away my life from mee? And if God haue shewed mee such grace, as to make me able to preserue my self, euen then whē I was not aduertised of any such daunger: I hope, that he will not shew me lesse fauour at this time, wherein I am admonished, but rather, that as I haue great occasion to looke vnto my selfe: so he will stirre vp, sundrie good and vertuous people, who shall watche for my assuraunce and safetie. But albeit, that I know not in the world, any impudencie so shameleſſe, whiche may be compared, with the impudencie of the Spaniardes: notwithstanding, I cannot sufficiently maruaile, that they haue bin so shameleſſe, as to dare to publishe, before all Europe, not only that they set a price vpon a frank and free Captaine, who (thanks be to God for it) did as yet neuer feare them: but also that they annexe thereunto, such recompences and rewardes, yea and those so barbarous, and so estraunged from all rule of honestie and humanitie, as the like hath not bin heard of: that is to say, in the first place, *that they will make him noble, if he were not noble before, who shall doe so Gentlemanlike, or so noble an act.* But I beseech you, suppose, that hee, whiche shoulde execute so wicked an acte, (which thing I hope God will neuer suffer) were of a Noble race and stocke: think you, that there is any Gentleman in the worlde, I meane amongest the Nations, whiche knowe what Nobilitie is, who woulde so muche as eate, with so wicked, vngodlie, and mischeuous a man, who for money shoulde kill another man, yea, though hee were the least, and the most abiecte person that coulde bee founde?

Nowe, if the Spaniardes accounte suche people for Noble men; and if this be the way to come to honour, in Ca-



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ſtile and Spaine, I will no more wonder at that, whiche all the worlde beleeueth, to witte, that the greateſt parte of the Spanyards, and ſpecially thoſe, that counte themſelues Noblemen, are of the blood of the Moores and Iewes, who alſo keepe this vertue of their Auncestors, who ſolde for readie money downe tolde, the life of our Sauiour, which thing alſo, maketh mee to take patientlie this iniurie layde vppon me. In the ſeconde place, *they pardon him, euerie offence and fault, howe greeuous ſoeuer it might bee.* But what if he had pulled vp the Chriſtian Religion, out of one of his Kingdomes? what if he had rauiſhed his daughter? what if he had ſpoken euill of the Inquiſition, which is the greateſt crime that can be in Spaine? Shoulde he bee pardoned? But, ſeeing mine enemie, ment ſo farre to forgette himſelfe, that hee woulde attempt, to take away, my goodes, my lyfe, and myne honour: and that he might haue more witneſſes, of his iniuſtice and follies, to publiſhe it ſo thorowe out the worlde, and that in ſo manie languages, I coulde not very wel deſire, in reſpect of moſt great aduauntage vnto my ſelfe, that he ſhould haue enriched and adorned, this his proſcription, with any other ornamentes, than theſe very ſame, to witte, that for killing of mee, he ſhoulde make noble, not onely villaines, and infamous perſons, but alſo the moſt wicked, and the moſt execrable people of the whole earth: and to giue ſuch a greate, yea ſo honourable a rewarde, to ſo notable a vertue. For what coulde be found out more fit to iuſtifie my righteouſneſſe and innocencie, then to go about, to roote me out by ſuch meanes? and then this, to carrie a mind, by tirannie, impoiſoninges, forgiuing of greeuous crimes, making of wicked men noble, and ſuch like, to oppreſſe the defendour of the libertie of a people, that is cruelly and tyrannouſly vexed?

I doubte not (my Lordes) but that GOD who is iuſt, hath taken from him and his, all vnderſtanding: and that he hath ſuffered him to declare and ſet out to all the worlde, matter ynough, whereby they may know, his poyſonfull hart, againſt this countrey, and againſt our liberty, in as much as he

maketh no account, of any act, how wicked and detestable soeuer it may be, in respect of the death of him, who hitherto hath so faithfully serued you. And further, he is not ashamed, to mingle with such sacriledges as these are, the name of God, calling himselfe *his Minister or Officer*. Hath the officer then this power, not onely to permit that which God hath forbidden: but also, to reward it, with money, or money worth, with nobilitie, and the forgiuenesse of offences? And what offences or crimes I pray you? Verely of all crimes howe greeuous soeuer they can be. But I doubt not, but that God, thorowe his most iust iudgement, will cause to come down, the iust vengeaunce of his wrath, vpon the Captaine and head, of such ministers and officers: and that on the other side, hee will of his great goodnes maintaine, mine innocencie and mine honor, so long as I liue, and amongst my posteritie after me. And as concerning my goods and my life, it is long time since, that I dedicated them to his seruice, and I knowe that he will doe therewith, whatsoeuer he shall see to be good, for his own glorie, and for my saluation.

And because (my Lordes) he proceedeth also, to bring the droppes of this infamous Proscription vpō your heads, so far of is it, that you shall be moued therewith, that yee should rather thinke, that herein the Spaniarde and his adherentes, follow the naturall disposition of women, who, after that they haue wept, scratched and bitten, doe for their remedie and refuge, come to iniuries and reuilinges: and euen so doeth your enemie, nowe yeelde out his last barkings: and if we giue them proofe, of our constancie, resolution, and courage, beholde they are, at the last of their miserable and wretched enterprises. For, Sylla, Carbo, Marius, Antonius, and such other tyraunts, the first fathers of these abhominable Proscriptions, neuer gaue example to the Spaniardes, to commit such follie and beastlines, albeit that they haue traced out before them, that example of crueltie & barbarousnesse, which these miserable wretches haue accomplished and perfourmed: But they proscribed such only as were fugitiues, driuen away, hidde in secret, and that within the countreys, ouer which they had po-

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wer and authoritie. And these men are like vnto them in this, that is to say, in crueltie, because they proscribe, good, vertuous, and honourable personages: but yet in this point, they shew themselues sottish and foolish, that they Proscribe him, whom they should fight against, with an armed power. For, to send a poisoner, as the Dutches of Parma sent one: or to send a murtherer, as hir sonne, the generall heire of the vertues of his auncestors, did: this is not the effect of a Proscription, but of briberie, and thecuerie rather.

Beholde (my Lords) not what I am able to say, against this tyrannous proscription, but what I haue thought meete for this time: speaking vnto you, which haue the knowledge, of sundrie things, that I omit, because they are known vnto you, and because also, that if I would attempt, to speake of the particular enterprises, of the King, and of his cheefe Officers, I should assaie to doe that, which no Orator is sufficiently able, worthely to describe: yea that, which no good man, was euer able to conceaue: so great is their crueltie, tyrannie, and all maner of vniust dealing. Notwithstanding I hope, that as well by the matter contayned in this proscription (which is a sufficient testimonie, of their ouer base and abiect courage) as by my answere you shall sufficiently knowe, what are their pernitious purposes, and miserable attemptes: and by this knowledge, you shall also learne, what it is necessarie, for you, to cast your eye vpon, and diligently to vnderstande: that is, that they dispaire, that euer they shall be able to vanquish you by force, and therefore they assay to sow division amongst vs, magnifying cheefly those, who haue not only forsaken vs, against their othe: but euen haue left vs in perillous times, and namely, whilest that one of our Townes was besieged: whereof they are not able, to make any iust complaint, nor alledge their accustomed pretext and cloake, yea (which also is the heape, of all disloyalty and vnfaithfulnesse) at the very same time they come to assault vs, in other places and quarters. As for the threats annexed in this Proscription, tende to no other ende but to astonish you, to the end you might separate your selues from me: and plainely to declare, that they make war against

me, and not against you, euen as the woolfe woulde perſwade the ſheepe, that he had not war with any but with the dogges, which being once diſcomfited, he would eaſilie agree with the flocke of ſheepe: for the dogges were alwaies the authours of their debate and combatting. But (my Lordes) though I were abſent: though I were departed into Germanie, would they burne no more? would they ſpill no more blood? woulde they drown no more? Was the libertie of the Countrey maintained, by that gentle and milde man, the Duke of Alua? Did they not then wickedly put to death in Spaine, your owne Ambaſſadors my Lordes of Bergues, and of Montigni? Did they not at the ſame time, ſet before your eyes, vppon ſpeares and launces, the heads of your principall Captaines and gouernors? The other point, which they moſt ſet before them, is the extirpation of Religion. I minde not here (my Lords) to enter into this queſtion, which is the true Religion, wherein God is truely ſerued and called vpon, and that according to his woorde: but leaue it rather to bee declared by others, more exerciſed in that matter than I: and yet ſo, that euery one may knowe by my profeſſion, what I beleeue concerning the ſame. But this I cannot chuſe but tell you, that ſuch is the eſtate of your countrey, that without the exerciſe and free vſe of the ſaid Religion, it cannot ſtande three dayes. You ſee the number of them that profeſſe it, marualouſlie increaſed: you ſee that hatred againſt the Pope, is introoted deepelie, in the heartes of all the inhabitauntes of the Countrey, becauſe that his damnable practiſes, againſt this whole eſtate, are manifeſtly diſcouered.

Who is he then, that can boaſt that he loueth the countrey, and woulde giue counſell to driue away ſuch a great number of people, which once departing, ſhall leaue the Countrey, waſte, poore, and miſerable, and ſhall people and inriche the ſtraunge nations about vs? But ſuppoſe, that they will not departe, or voyde the Countrey, who is hee that can inforce them ſo to doe? let vs looke vppon our neighbours: Let vs conſider our owne examples, and if wee bee not vtterlye voyde of witte and vnderſtanding, wee will neuer

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chuse such pernicious and hurtfull counsels, as shall vtterlie, euen from toppe to toe, bring to ruine and destruction, this estate. I will yet say somewhat more vnto you (my Lords) that albeit that amongst them, which follow the Romane church, there are sundrie good people, and louers of their Countrey: and that amongest them, there are some also, whiche haue most honorablie acquited and behaued themselues: yet notwithstanding those of the religion, are very well assured of this, that there shall neuer be found any amongest them, who hath had intelligence, or made any practise with the enemie, but all of them generally, haue bin contrarie vnto him. And albeit that some haue bin founde amongest them, who being like vnto wanton and proude children, haue brought thorow their vnheedinesse, some trouble into the house: yet for all that, they haue not had any dealing, with the common enemie. Seeing then (my Lordes) that you knowe their purposes and attempts, there resteth no other thing but this, that you doe in time prouide for them, and labour what yee can, to redresse the same. And how shall this be perfourmed? forsooth by this meanes, that yee performe in effect, that which ye haue alwayes in your mouth: and that which the marke of your sheafe of arrowes signifieth, which it hath pleased you to haue grauen in your seale: that is to say, that no member of this goodlie bodie, respecte that which is his owne, but regarde the whole bodie altogether: that some one parte of the bodie, take not vnto it selfe that meate, whiche is prepared for the whole, but that it suffer the stomacke (whiche is the counsell, that yee shall ordaine and appoint) to concoct and digest the same, and to sende it by the vaines, to all the members of this estate, and specially, that whersoeuer any disease or sickenesse shall appeare, the Phisitions shoulde speedilie bee sente thyther, and that the Patientes shoulde quietlie beare for a time, the miseries vppon them, that so they maye feele at the length, a ioyfull delyuerance, from their disease and euil. Shall not this be a iust reproche vppon vs and oures, for euer, if that, hauing so glorious an estate vnder our power, and so goodlie meanes

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for our defence, wee do, thorow a miserable couetousnesse & greedie desire, to get vnto our selues some commodities, and that with the preiudice and hurte of our countrey men and friends, whilest some draw one way, and other some another: if we doe I saye, finde our selues and that in a moment, snared and ouerwhelmed by our deadly enemies? Remember (my Lordes) I pray you, the very great diminishing and weakning of this estate, which came to passe after the death of Duke Charles, which fell vppon vs for no other thing, but because that while the Prouinces, busied themselues, to contende and to fight one of them against another, for certaine pretended priuiledges, and for certaine commodities, the rest was abandoned and forsaken. Think not that it is in my power (the affaires and matters being in such condition as they are) anie long time to resist the enemie, with suche smalle and slender meanes, as you (my Lords) know, that I haue had in my hand and possession. But on the other side, if I haue any experience, or practise, of gouernment and warre: if I know this Countrey, and the meanes that the enemie hath, though that all the armies and powers, whiche they threaten shall come the next yeare out of Spaine and Italie, shoulde come vpon vs and our powers, they shall do no more, but much lesse rather, then the Duke of Alua did in Holland & Zealand. And if it be in your power to take order for this (as it is in deede) and yet notwithstanding yee doe it not; by what name shall a man cal this fault, if it be committed by you (my Lordes) who are here assembled, and vpon whome, all the good people of this countrey stay themselues, esteeming you as their fathers, and their Protectors, who will also willingly imbrace, as some ioyfull newes sent from heaven, any good order which you shall decree and establish? Wherefore take pitie of your selues, and if that which concerneth your selues mone you not, yet take pitie I pray you of so many poore people already destroied, and more like to be: of so manie poore widowes and fatherlesse children: of so many murthers and slaughters, committed within the bowels of your owne countrey: of so manie Churches destroyed: and of so many Pastors wandering vp-

and

and downe together with their poore flockes. Set before you, that cruell and Barbarous execution, committed at Niuelle, by the Countie of Mansfeld. Which things you may easily auoide, and cast all the euill and mischiefe of this warre, vpon the enemie, if onely you remoue partialities and partakinges, and with one courage and hart as it were, imploye together all the meanes that you haue, without sparing, I say, not the bottome of your purses, but that which aboundeth therein. And as concerning that which particularly toucheth my selfe, you see (my Lordes) that it is this head, that they seeke for, the which by such a price, and so great a summe of money, they haue vowed and appointed to death, and say, that so long as I shall be amongst you, the warres shall haue no ende. Woulde to God (my Lords) either that my perpetuall banishement, or else my very death it selfe, might bring vnto you, a sound and true deliueraunce from so many mischiefes and calamities, as the Spaniardes (whome I haue seene so many times deliberate in councell, deuise and speake of particularly, and whome I know within and (without) doe deuise against you, and prepare for you. O how sweete shoulde this banishment be vnto mee? O how delitefull should this death be vnto me? for wherefore is it, that I haue giuen ouer, yea lost all my goods? is it to inriche my selfe? Wherefore haue I lost mine owne brethren, whome I loued more then mine owne life? Is it that I might finde some other else where? Wherefore haue I so long time left my sonne a prisoner, my sonne I say, whome I ought so much to desire, If I bee a father? is it because you are able to giue mee another? or because you are able to restore him to mee againe? Wherefore haue I put my life so oftentimes in daunger? what other recompence, what other rewarde, can I looke for, of my long trauailes, which haue come vpon me for your seruice sake, euen so farre, that they haue brought vppon me olde age, and the ruine and losse of all my goods, excepte it be to purchase and to procure you libertie, and that if neede be, with the price of my blood. If you therefore (my lords) do iudge either that my absence, or that my verie death it selfe, may serue you, or stande you in any steede, beholde I am rea-

die to obey, commaunde me, yea ſend me euen to the worldes ende, and I will obey you. Beholde, my head ouer whiche no Prince nor Monarche, hath any power ſaue you onely, diſpoſe thereof as ſhall make moſt for your owne good, and for the health and preſeruation of your common wealth. But if you iudge, that this meane experience and ſmall diligence that is in me, and which I haue attained, by ſo long and ſo continuall trauell: If you iudge that the remainder of my goods, and that my life it ſelfe, may as yet ſerue you (as in deede I doe whollie dedicate and conſecrate the ſame vnto the countrey) reſolue then vpon the pointes, which I propound vnto you & ſet before you. And if you thinke that I beare any loue to the countrey, and that I haue any ſufficiencie in me, to giue counſel, beleeue that this is the onely meane, to aſſure, yea, to deliuer our ſelues from the enemie. This being done, let vs with one hart and good wil go together, and let vs together imbraſe the defence of this good people, which demaundeth nothing elſe, but to haue good counſels laide open before them, nor deſireth any thing elſe, but to follow the ſame: And this doing, if you yet continue towards me the fauour, which heeretofore you haue borne me, I hope by your aide, & Gods grace (which I haue ſo often heertofore felt, and that in very perplexed and doubtfull matters) that that which ſhall be reſolued vpon, by you, ſhall be, for the good, and preſeruation, of your ſelues, your wiues and children, and all ſacred and holie thinges.

¶ The

# THE COPIE OF A LETTER WRITten by the King with his own hand, to the Prince of Orange, translated out of Spanish into Frenche.

*I HAVE WITH GREAT AFFECTION RE-ceaued your Letter of the xxvij. of Maie, and since, that other which you writte vnto me, the xiiij. of Iune: and by that which I haue written to my sister, you haue bin able to vnderstande, the small occasion that you haue to thinke that which you write vnto me, in that Letter of the xxvij. of Maie, but rather the contrarie. Also it is certaine, that you shoulde much deceaue your selfe to thinke, that I woulde not haue all confidence and good opinion of you: and albeit some certaine one, shoulde meane, to perfourme a contrarie duetie towardes me, yet this shoulde remaine, that I would not be so light, as to giue credite thereto, hauing so great experience of your loyaltie and seruices, Wherefore you neede not trouble your selfe therewith, but staie your selfe vpon the Letters, which heeretofore I haue written vnto you in this behalfe, and vpõ your owne deedes, but at no hande rest vpon that which some, enemies (it may be of my seruice, and of your good estate) would indeauour to cause you to vnderstãd. Touching the liberte you demaũde, to leaue of your charges and offices, it greeueth me, that your particular affaires and businesses, are in such termes & state as you say: and I cannot but tell you, that the affayres of those Countries, standing in such sorte and maner as they doe, it is not reason that such persons, as yours is (to whom I trust, and vpon whome I staie my selfe) shoulde abandon and forsake the same, specially I my selfe beeing so farre off from the saide Countries, yea rather it were reason, that those, that are in their owne houses, shoulde speedily prouide for, and helpe this present necessitie, and imploy themselues vpon that, wherunto they are boũd, as ye haue presẽtly done, in going to Antuerpe, whereby I haue receaued greate contentment and ioye, and am very well assured, that ye will there doe, what soeuer shall be most cõuenient for my seruice, & for the quietnesse & peace, of the said towne and countrey, and for the auoiding of the disorders, that shall arise there: which thing also I hope of you, and I knowe that ye*

*will not declare your ſelfe to be any other, than ſuch a one as yee haue heretofore declared your ſelfe to be, all your life long: And to the end ye may perceaue, that I do deale freely with you, I will not ceaſe to aduertiſe you, that there hath bin in theſe quarters a great rumor, concerning this, to wit, that your brother hath bin found to be a dealer, in thoſe things that are done there. And becauſe I cann not ceaſe, muche and often to thinke of this matter, I charge you ſtraightly diligently to conſider, how it may be remedied & redreſſed, that it proceede no further, and looke that you doe effectuallie performe it: and if it ſeeme good vnto you to remoue for a few daies, your brother far from you, doe ſo. From the Foreſt of Segonia the firſt of Auguſt.*

Subſigned

PHILIP,

And written vpon the backeſide

*To the Prince of Orange.*

And ſealed with the Kings Seale.

# A PROCLAMATION AND AN EDICT IN FORME OF A PROSCRIPTION,

*made by the Maiestie of the King our Lorde, against William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, as the chiefe Captaine and disturber of the state of Christendome, and specially of these low Countreyes, by which enery one is authorised, to hurt him and to kill him, as a publike plague, with a rewarde to him that shall doe it, and shall bee assisting and ayding thereunto.*

PHilip by the grace of God King of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Nauarr, of Naples, of Cicilia, of Maleorcha, of Sardinia, of the Isles, of the Indes and the firme land, of the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austriche, Duke of Burgundie, of Lothier, of Brabant, of Lembourg, of Luxembourg, of Gelderland & of Millan, Countie of Habsbourg, of Flaunders, of Arthois, of Burgundie, Palatine both of Haynault, of Holland, of Zeland, of Namure, and of Zutphen, Prince of Swaue, Marques of the holy Empire, Lorde of Friseland, of Salines, of Malines, of the Citie, Townes and countrey of Vtrecht, of Oueryssel, and Groninge, and Gouernour in Asia and Affrick. To all those that shall see these present writings, greeting.

It is knowne to all the worlde, howe the late Emperour of most excellent memorie, Charles the fift, my Lord and father, whom God absolue, hath fauourablie handled and dealt with William of Nassau, for the succession of the late Rene of Challon, Prince of Orange his cousin: and howe from that time forwarde, euen from his first age, hee hath (although hee were a stranger) greatly aduaunced him, which thing we ourselues also, haue alwaies successiuely continued, and daylie augmented more and more, hauing made him first of our order, afterwarde our Lieuetenant generall in the gouernmene

of Holland, Zeland, Vtrecht and of Burgundy, and withall, of our counsell of estate, bestowing vppon him sundrie benefites and honours, whereby both by reason of the othe of fidelitie and homages, which he hath likewise made vnto vs, because also of the fees, pensions, landes and Lordships, held of vs in diuers our Countries and Prouinces, he was greatly subiected and bound to obey vs, to keepe and hold his faith giuen, and to procure the good and profite of our affayres, and consequently to maintaine, all quietnesse and peace in our estates and countries. Notwithstanding euery one knoweth, that we were not so soone departed, out of those our lowe Countryes, but that the said William of Nassau, made Prince of Orange by the meanes aboue mentioned, did by his siniſter practises, deuises and craftes assaie, firste, to get the good willes of those whome he knew to be discontent, greatly indebted, haters of iustice, studious of nouelties, & speciallie suche as were suspected to bee of the religion, banketting them, prouoking them, and drawing them after him, by faire wordes, promises, and vaine perswasions, euen so farre, that he was the principall authour, promotor and framer, of the first requeſt, presented by certaine companies of young Gentlemen, who did daylie frequent his house and table: yea that the very plot thereof, was laide in his saide house, by and with the assistaunce of Countie Ludouick of Nassau his brother a great heretick. And albeit, that he was the director of all these deuises, yet in that time, he daily haunted the counsel of estate, being present at al consultations and resolutions, taken and made therin, in so much that euery man may easily marke, the faithful truſt that was in him, and the obseruation of his othes. And afterward passing frō the said requeſt, & proceeding further, he & his adherents, brought in heretical preachings, & publick assemblies in sundrie places of our saide countreis, whiles that the Dutches of Parma, our most deare and best beloued sister (thē Regētes & general Gouernes of the saide low countries) had sent vnto vs, that we might giue order cōcerning the said requeſt. And also, by the aduise, knowledge, & partaking of the said P. of Orāge, the heretiks (being guided by those preſēters of the aforesaid requeſt, who wer fauored by him) begā tumultuously to break

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Images, Alters, and Churches, to prophane all holy and sacred things, yea the sacraments instituted by god. Neuertheles, by the grace of god, & foresight of the said lady, the matters were so wel gouerned & remedied, that he was inforced to depart out of our countreis, & to leaue his said gouernments, yet not without being ful of wrath & threatnings that he would be reuéged therfore, which thing he thought the yere following to perform by arms, but in vain, for he was so speedily pursued by our army continually following him at his heeles, that he was driué out, of al our said coũtreis, without being able to remain in any part therof. But as soone after, there did in sũdry places appeare some discõtentmẽt of our said subiects, against the gouernmẽt of the D. of Alua (who succeeded the said Lady in the gouernmẽt aforesaid) and amongst others, in the prouinces of Holland & Zelãd, so he practised that he might return thither again. To which notwithstãding he was not receaued, but that first he did holily sweare, to the estates of the said countreis, & the towns therein, that he wold maintain the said countreis & townes for vs, & in our obedience, & that he wold not change any thing whatsoeuer, of the ancient, catholick, and romish religion, but as a gouernour only, would assist and defend thẽ, against the said D. of Alua, if he wold inforce, & by violẽce draw them to that, which he pretẽded, that is to say, to the paiment of the x. & xx peny, of that imposition, which he would charge them withal, a thing indeed which we neuer cõmaunded him, neither euer vnderstood to haue bin done, but with the good leaue & liking of our said subiects, & yet that also in the steede of other aids & impositiõs, wherof we meant to vnburthẽ thẽ. Notwithstanding, so soone as the said Nassau, was entered & receaued into the said gouernment, he began by his officers & cõplices, to bring in heretical preachings in euery place where he could, persecuting all the good pastors, preachers, religious persons, and honest people, whereof hee droue away a great number, and among them hee caused manie of them to bee murthered, or els wincked at the murther, that was made of them, by some of his adherentes, vntill such time as the said Estates, being greatlie offended with this cruelty, would haue a reason and an account yeelded therof, but thẽ he feigned that

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the thing did much displease & dislike him, and yet notwithstanding afterwards, he returned to his first purpose & marke, ill intreating those, which he knew to be catholicks, and contrarie to his attemptes, aiding himselfe with the councell of hereticall Ministers, as well straungers, as of the said countrey, chaunging likewise the Magistrates, which he knewe fauoured not his enterprises and purposes, and afterwardes proceeded to bring in libertie of conscience, or (to speake trulie) confusion of religion. Wherevpon immediatly after it fell out, that the Catholickes were openly persecuted, cast downe, and driuen away: the Churches and Monasteries both of men and women broken downe, ruinated, and made euen with the earth: the religious persons both men and women euill handled, banished and rooted out, vnlesse they woulde play the Apostatates, & become maried, for in the other he had no confidence at all (as also he himselfe, being before a maried man, his second wife yet liuing, did take a religious woman and an Abbais, solemnely blessed by the Bishops hande, whom hee as yet keepeth with him, the most shamefast and infamous thing that can be, not only according to christian religion, but also by the lawes of the Romanes, and against all honestie) and at the last, hath proceeded so far, that he hath not left any more place for the catholick religion, suffring all the errors and impieties, of all other sectes and heresies, that he might thereby, ouerthrow and roote vp (if he would) our catholick and holy religion, which hath bin alwaies obserued by the whole estate of Christians.

Furthermore, he hath caused our poore subiectes of Hollande and Zelande, to be so stiffe, and brought them to stande vpon such termes, that almost all the townes thereof, one after an other, haue bin besieged and taken, some by assault, and other some by composition and yeelding, in so much that more thē once, he hath bin almost vtterly driuen out by our armie, vntill such time that, the great commaunder of Castile, beeing dead, whom we also made successor in that gouernment after the said Duke of Alua, whome wee called backe from thence, that wee might make our subiectes more contented thereby,

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things came into some disorder, and disobedience of souldiars, who tooke the towne of Siriczee, which disorder begā to giue some fauour to the said Nassau: and immediately after, the estates generall of our saide Countries, in those quarters, (desiring once to get out these miseries of warre, perswaded by the saide Orange, saying and feigning that, hee desired nothing, but the good peace and tranquilitie of the Countries, and to set them free from strange souldiars, and to holde the countrey vnder our obedience, and withal to preserue therin, the auncient catholick religion, such as it had alwaies bin exercised and practised amongest them, and to keepe the priuiledges and libertie of the saide countrey) did make with him the treatie of Gaundt, established expressly vppon these two groundes, that is, to maintaine the said religion, and obediēce to vs.

while these thinges were in handeling, wee sent our good brother, the late Lord Don Iohn of Austria, of blessed memorie, with commandement and intention to pacifie, reconcile, and accord, all the troubles of our said countries, by the most gentle meane, & fauourablest way that could be, which thing also he did, yeelding vnto our subiectes euery thing, which any maner of way, might be graunted vnto them, ratifying and confirming also, the saide treatie of Gaunt, which he caused to be published in euery place, according to the accustomed maner, which the forsaide Orange did gainesay, by all the forces and power he had, but not being able to hinder it, he woulde neuer afterwardes cause the same to be published, in the places of his gouernments (fretting as is said because he was not able to let it) notwithstanding that wee our selues had afterwards, approued, confessed, and confirmed both the one and the other agreement and treatie, and notwithstandyng that our saide good brother (together with the deputies of the rest of the estates, had sent diuers great and good personages, to the saide Orange, to perswade him to that, to the end effectuallie to accomplish on his part, that wherevnto hee was holde and bound, by the articles and points, of the saide treatie of Gaunt. And because, that he pleaded & alleadged continually

that he ought to recouer his whole gouernment, and withal, that the townes which woulde not acknowledge him for gouernour, or els those, which afterwards we had take by force of armes, and brought by some other meanes into our obedience, should be put vnder his saide gouernment, hee was euen in that also satisfied, by the goodnesse and gentlenesse of our said estates, who had not yet thē sufficiētly known his deceites & periuries yet so notwithstanding, that he shold sweare that he would chāge nothing at all, of the forme of the said anciēt catholique and Romane religion, & that for this purpose, hee should giue such assurances & satisfactions, as the magistrates, Burgesses and inhabitauntes of euery towne, might iustly demaund. Whereupon they, hauing reasoned a long while, touching the assurances, which euery towne did demaund, to the end that that which the saide Orange promised them, might be obserued and kept, they were subiected vnder his gouernment, after that he had sworne to performe the points aforesaide, and other articles contayned in the instrumentes and writings of the saide satisfactions and assurances. But, so farre of was it, that he hath kept and obserued his foresaide promises & othes, that, on the cōtrary side, he immediately brought into the said countries and townes, his Ministers and Caluinistes preachers, he hath caused the heretickes, that were banished to return, he hath there practised libertie of cōscience, and hath caused to be cōmitted, some offences in some churches ioyning himselfe, first to the poorer sorte, and afterwarde to the Magistrates, and hath by little and little, persecuted the good pastors, and caused them to flie away: finally, hee hath expelled and banished the whole catholicke religion, and forbidden the exercise and vse thereof. In doing of which, hee vsed his ordinarie hypocrisies, & accustomed counterfeiting, saying that those things displeased him, and that hee was not able to remedy the same. And yet notwithstāding he did, both by himself, and by his officers secretely, and as it were vnder hand prouoke, al the seditious and heretical persons, to vse & practise the mischiefe he had conceaued: and for this cause he did (by the aide and assistaunce of those of his side) place by



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little and little, garrisons within the townes, against his couenauntes and promises sworne, and in the meane while ceased not, to accuse our said Brother Don Iohn, that he priuily practised many mischiefes against the Estates, which thing notwithstanding, our saide brother hath alwaies assured vs not to be true. But rather that seeing the obstinacie & malices of the said Orange, he might be able to impart the same matter with others, and to diuise how, they might bring him to reason, & hinder him, from againe troubling the whole publique quietnesse, of the said countreis, as afterwardes he did in deede.

All this notwithstanding, the foresaid Orange left not of, vntil that by his practises and subtil sleights (which are very proper to him) he had set such great diffidence & distrust, between our said brother, & the estats of our said countreys, that there appeared nothing, but a most great, euident, and apparaunt murther. Insomuch that, for the auoiding of that disorder, or at the least to escape the imprisonment of his own person, the said Don Iohn, placed himself safely, in our towne & Castle of Namure. Wherevnto he was so much the more mooued, by how much he was not any whit at all armed, and on the other side, because it was manifest & certaine, that the said Orange, by al his posting messengers and officers, did not cease to prouoke the factious persons, to practise the like thing, vppon his owne person, as he had the same yeere caused to be practised, vpon those of our counsell of estate, appointed to the generall gouernement, of our saide Countreys: as also, because that then the said Orange, thinking that he had gotten all, did begin to shoote out all his arrowes, and to discouer his sleightes and weapons that he might draw our people into open warr, against our saide brother & Lieuetenaunt generall. Notwithstanding, by occasion of some good men, being nigh about his person, and of other vertuous people, on the estates side, the matters came so farre, that all was well agreede, and that for the auoyding of all occasion and distrust, it was both on the one side, and on the other concluded, that he shoulde withdraw himselfe from his gouernement, and go into Italy, which thing also we our selues wished and willed: And there

were with him, the Deputies of the Estates, mutually to accept and to signe, the offers made on both sides, one of them to an other. But in ill time, this enemie, the common disturber of publike quietnesse (who knowing that from the place of Holland where he was, he could not with all his deuices any more hinder this peace and reconciliation) made haste to come at that very time to Bruxelles, and faigning that he woulde haue peace, he procured warre, setting down newe conditions, not yet talked nor conferred of, nor opened, in so muche that hee obtayned his purpose, breaking the whole agreement, as euery one very well knoweth. Afterwardes, the matter being come to a breaking out, of open and most cruell warre, hee by force and tumult of the people, caused himselfe, againste the good will of the Estates, to be declared, Rewart, that is, the protector or defendor of our Countrey of Brabant, and afterwards the seconde Lieuetenaunt of all our low countreis, and also in fine he caused himselfe by the tumults of Gaunt and of some other places, to be chosen gouernour of Flaunders: hauing also caused to come thither, his brother, and brother in law, being straungers, to take vpon them, some other gouernmentes, of our Prouinces, and yet notwithstanding, hee and his partakers, burthen our people, with all sortes of impositions, exactions, demaundes, levies and taxes, so hard, barbarous and tyrannous, that the like hath neuer bin hearde of, which he hath executed, by a strong hand & force of armes, without the cõsent of our people, and without yeelding any account thereof: and if any man speake of these thinges, he layeth hande vpon them, or causeth them to be spoyled, euill intreated, imprisoned, or slaine.

On the other side it is manifest, what we haue continually done, to pacifie and quiet (so sooneas we vnderstoode thereof) the euill that fell out, as hath bin saide betweene our saide Lieuetenaunt generall and the Estates. But all the good that we haue done, or our said brother, hath bin suppressed and hid, in steed whereof the saide Orange and his partakers, haue deuised a thousand slaunders, the more to abuse our said subiectes. Euen as in the obtayning of the victorie of Gemblour,

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when we ſent the Baron of Seelles, with moſt reaſonable conditions, that he might receiue into fauour our ſaide Subiects, and accord the whole matter, nothing for all that followed thereupon, by meanes of the hinderaunce and let, whiche hee knewe to catt in the way, albeit, that al this while, our ſaid ſubiects, writing both to vs, and to our good brother & nephewe the Emperor, and other Potentates, to iuſtifie the controuerſies, which they had againſt our ſaid Lieutenaunt generall, did openly proteſt, that they ment not to change any thing, in the auncient, catholicke, and Romane religion, ſuche as it had alwaies bin obſerued, in our ſaid countreis, and withall, that vnder the practiſe thereof, they would yeelde vs that obedience which by Gods lawe and mans lawe, was due vnto vs, which were the only two points which we alwayes demaunded, and demaunded then of them, and whereof alſo wee were agreed. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Orange, fearing the reconciliation of our ſubiects with vs, came ſo farre, that he laid againe newe deuices, not only for to hinder that matter, but alſo to make (if he could) for euer, the thing paſt hope of recouerie, and altogether remedileſſe, by going about to corrupt all with hereſie, wherevnto he attained in diuers places, both by ſubtelties, craftes, miſcheefes, and periuries, well knowen to him and all heretikes, and alſo by mere force, vſing the ſame that he had practiſed before, to waſte & deſtroy the prouinces of Holland and Zeland, caſting all into the fire of popular tumult, and of the ſacking of churches, prophanations of ſacramentes, murther, or impriſonment of Biſhops, Paſtors, Ieſuites, religious men, religious women, and of ſundrie ſecular perſons, of qualitie and honour, breaking againſt all order of lawe the priuiledges, vſages, and auncient obſeruations, depriuing the preſidets, Councellors, gouernours of places, Bailiffes, Prouoſtes, Sheriues, and other catholike officers, well affected to vs and the good and quiet of the Countrey, placing in their ſteede, and that extraordinarilie and by his owne authoritie, and oftentimes by the tumult of the people prouoked by him (amongeſt whom he raigneth and triumpheth) all ſectaries, ſeditious men and turbulent perſons, liuing of pray and ſpoile,

and others like vnto himself, in somuch that he hath brought all to the most tyrannous, barbarous and bloodie confusion, that euer yet was heard of. Wherewith certaine catholick prouinces being displeased, euen to see the consciences of the good so oppressed, and violently inforced, and the churches, Cloysters, Abbayes, Castles, and houses of Noble men and great personages, laid flat with the earth, and their goodes giuen for a praye to all wicked men, at the discretion and pleasure of this straunger, and the whole estate of the countrey subuerted by him, yea so farre that hee meant to constraine whole prouinces, and that against their othe and good will, they did willingly reconcile themselues to vs, which thing hee indeauoured on all sides, to gainsay and hinder, but they were more strong and constant then he. yea, which is worse, albeit that the saide Lorde Emperour at the earnest request of the saide Estates (who besought him to be an intercessour, and to make a meane for a pacification betweene vs and them) was content to take the whole matter into his owne handes and to determine it, if hee coulde: wherevnto for the desire that we haue, to see our people deliuered from these calamities, we did willingly condiscende and agree. And in deed, his Imperiall Maiestie, sent to this purpose, his Commissioners to Colen, as wel Princes Electors, as others very principal persõs of the holy Empire, to vnderstand the points in cõtrouersie & dispute betweene vs, yet that hath no whit at all turned him aside, nor with-held him, from his wicked & peruerse purposes. And indeed, the said Commissioners, hauing heard the whole matter, & debated a good while together vpon the demands of the said estates & our offers made therto, resolued & concluded, p̃ points & articles which they caused to be published and imprinted, that they might be accepted both of the one side and the other. Neuertheless, the whole matter was without any effect or fruit, notwithstanding that the articles themselues were so gracious, fauourable, iust, & resonable, that there is no man of good iudgement, but he confesseth, that they are more then sufficient, and that we haue offered more, then by any reason our subiects ought to demaund at our hands.

Whileſt this conference and communication endured and laſted, the ſaid Orange, to the end that he might countermine & worke againſt the Emperour and vs, and ſo by that meanes, make all the matter deſperate and paſt hope, cauſed to bee made in Vtrecht, a certaine aſſemblie of the deputies of ſundry townes and countries, which hee keepeth vnder his owne power, there to practiſe a new league, or a manifeſt and notorious conſpiracie, againſt the ſaide religion & vs, with execrable and deteſtable both wordes and othes, not abſtaining to iniurie the commiſſioners of the ſaide Lorde Emperour. For which purpoſe hee was aſſiſted, by his ſaide brother, and brother in law, and other helpers, which thing alſo hee hath wreſted and wrong from ſundrie quarters, by great prouocation, practiſes, ſclaunders, and importunate promiſes, yea, almoſt by force. And notwithſtanding all the duties perfourmed by the ſaid commiſſioners, to cauſe the prouinces to vnderſtand their ſaide good and holy reſolution, ſo profitable for our ſubiectes, hee by his adherentes, and certaine ſuppoſed perſons, which hee vſeth for inſtrumentes, hath brought to paſſe that the ſaide articles, were a long time ſuppreſſed and kept cloſe, and when they could not any longer be hidden, he hath not only hindered, that they ſhould not be accepted, but hath procured, that certaine pernitious bookes, ſtuffed with al lies and ſclaunders ſhould be written againſt thē. And moreouer at the laſt, the deputies that he hath in Antwerp, nigh about him, being of the ſame profeſſion, haue demaunded articles more greeuous, impertinent, hurtfull, offenſiue, and ful of impiety againſt God and vs, their ſoueraigne Lorde and natural Prince, yea ſuch articles, as a man cannot ſpeake too much againſt them. Beſides, when hee perceaued, that as yet he could not by all his cunning, perſwaſions and labours wholly obtaine the ſame, he determined with him ſelfe at the length to depart out of Antwerp (from whence hee had not ſtirred by more then two yeeres ſpace) & went into our ſaid towne of Vtrecht, to the ende he might accompliſhe the execution of the ſaide damnable league, and make for euer all the matters vnremediable. And generally, hee hath ſo behaued him ſelfe in all manner of tyrannie, that hee hath driuen from

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thence & rooted out all the people of the church, yea he hath so handeled the Lordes, and the whole principall Nobilitie of our countries, that they haue bin inforced to withdraw themselues and to forsake their countries, to the ende that hee may raigne and rule there, most absolutely, amongest the furies and tumults of the people the good being chased away. And because that all this confusion and curse, that our countries suffer, is confessed to proceede from the counsell, exhortatiō, prouocation, and doing of this wicked hypocrite, by meanes of his vnquiet spirite, which also placeth the whole felicitie thereof, in the trouble of our subiectes: and withall seeing that it is manifest, that so long as he is in our Countries, there cannot be peace, rest, nor any quietnesse, establishing all vpon a perpetuall distrust which he hath euer in his mouth (a verye ordinarie and common thing to wicked men, who haue their consciences vexed and troubled, as had Caine, Iudas, and such like) moreouer, seeing that notwithstanding the intreaties & offers, that hath bin made him, euen by the Emperors Commissioners, offering him most great profits, to the end that he would returne to his natiue countrey (where euery one naturally ought to desire to liue most) he would not accept therof, and being a straunger, delighteth rather to destroy our countreis, then to yeelde to that, which is reasonable and good, for the benefite of our naturall subiectes the inhabitaunts thereof.

For these causes which are so iust, reasonable and lawful, vsing in this behalfe the authoritie that we haue ouer him, as well by vertue of the othes of fidelitie and obedience, which he hath sundrie times taken vnto vs, as also being the absolute and soueraigne Prince of the said low countries, for al his peruerse and wicked deedes, and because he alone hath bene the head, authour and promoter of these troubles, and the principall disturber of our whole estate: to be short, because he hath bin the publick plague of Christendome, we publish him for a tray tour, & a wicked man, the enemie of vs and of our countreis, and as such a one haue proscribed him, and do perpetually and for euer proscribe him, out of the said countries, al other

ther our Estates, Kingdomes and Seignuries, interdicting and forbidding all our subiectes, of what estate, condition or qualitie soeuer they be, not to haunt, liue, be conuersaunt, speake, or communicate with him, openly or secretely, nor to receaue him or lodge him in their houses, nor to minister vnto him meate, drinke, fire, nor any other necessaries, in any sorte whatsoeuer, vpon paine to incurre our indignation and displeasure, as hereafter shalbe saide. And so we permit all, whether they bee our subiectes or others, for the execution of our said declaration and edict, to staye him, let him, and safely to keepe his person, and to hurt him both in his goods, and also in his person and life, giuing the said William of Nassau ouer vnto all men, as the enemie of mankinde, graunting vnto euery one, al his goods moueable and vnmoueable, that can take, occupie, or conquer the same, whersoeuer they bee, excepte those goods, which are at this present, in our power and possession. And to the ende in deede, that this matter may be the more effectuallie and readilie performed, & so by that means our saide people the sooner deliuered, from this tyrannie and oppression, we willing to reward vertue, and to punish vice, do promise in the word of a king, and as the minister of god, that if there be any found, either among our owne subiectes, or amongst straungers, so noble of courage, and desirous of our seruice, and the publicke good, that knoweth any meane how to execute our saide Decree, and to set vs and him selfe free, from the aforesaide plague, deliuering him vnto vs quicke or dead, or at the least taking his life from him, wee will cause, to be giuen & prouided, for him and his heires, in good land or readie monie, chuse him whether, immediatly after the thing shalbe accomplished, the summe of xxv. thousande crownes of golde, and if he haue committed any offence or fault, how great and grieuous soeuer it bee, wee promise to pardon him the same, and from henceforth do pardon it, yea & if he were not before noble, we do make him noble, for his courage and valiaunt act: and if the principall doer, take with him for his aide, in the accomplishment of this enterprise, or execution of this his fact, other persons beside himselfe, we wil bestow vpon

them benefites and a rewarde, and will giue to euery one of them, according to their degree, and according to that ſeruice which they ſhall yeelde vnto vs in this behalfe: pardoning thē alſo whatſoeuer they haue ill done, and making them likewiſe noble. And becauſe, that the receauers, fauorers and adherēts of ſuch tyrants, are they which cauſe them to continue, and do nouriſh and vphold thē, in their naughtines, without the which, the wicked could not rule any long time, we declare al them likewiſe for rebels againſt vs, & enemies of the commō quiet, and as ſuch, do depriue them of al their goods, nobility, honors, & fauours, preſent or to come, who, within a moneth, after the publication of this preſent edict, ſhall not withdraw themſelues from taking parte with him, but ſhall continue to ſhew him fauour, and to giue him ayd, or otherwiſe ſhal haunt, frequent, follow, aſſiſt, counſell or fauor him, directly, or indirectly, or from this time forwarde, ſhall deliuer him any money, giuing, all the goods and bodies of ſuch men, wherſoeuer they may be founde, either in our kingdomes or countreis, or out of them, to thoſe that ſhall occupie the ſame, whether they be marchaundizes, money, debts, actions, landes, Lordſhips, and other things whatſoeuer, except that the ſaide goods, bee alreadie ſeaſed in our power, as hath bin before ſaide. And that they may the more ſpeedily come to haue ſentēce, againſt their ſaid perſon or goods, it ſhalbe proofe ſufficient ynough to declare, that they haue ſeene them, after the time expreſſed in this proſcriptiō, communicate, ſpeake, treate, haunt openly or ſecretly with the ſaide Orange, or haue ſhewed him particular fauor, aſſiſtaunce or aide, directly or indirectly howſoeuer, pardoning notwithſtanding all men, whatſoeuer, euen vnto the ſaide time they ſhal haue done to the contrarie, if returning backe, and ſubmitting themſelues agayne, vnder the due and lawfull obedience which they owe vnto vs, they haue accepted or ſhall accept the ſaide treatie of Arras, concluded at Monts, or the articles of the deputies of the Emperor determined at Colen.

Thus we giue in charge and commaunde, our moſt deare and faithfull, the heads, preſidentes and perſons of our priuie

and great councels, the Chauncellor & persons of our counsell in Brabant, the Gouernour, president and persons of our counsell at Luxembourg, the Gouernor, Chauncelor, and persons of our counsell in Gelderlande, the Gouernor of Lembourg, Faulquemont, Daelhem, and of others our Countreis of Oultremeuze, the Gouernor, Presidentes, and persons of our counsels in Flaunders and Artois, the great Bailie of Haynault, & persons of our counsel at Monts, the Gouernor, President, and persons, of our counsel in Holland, the Gouernor, President and persons of our counsell at Namure, the Gouernor, Presidentes and persons of our counsell in Friesland, the Gouernor, Chauncelor and persons, of our counsell in Ouerysell, the Lieuetenaunt of Groningen, the Gouernor, President, & persons of our counsell at Vtrecht, the Gouernor of Lile, Douoy, and Orchies, the prouost and Countie of Vallanchiennes, the Baylie of Tournay and of Tournesses, the Rentmasters of Beweſt and Beoilterschelt in Zelande, the iudge of Malines, and all other our Iustices and officers, and those of our vassals and Subiects, whom it shall concerne, their Lieuetenantes and euery one of them, in respect of himselfe, and as though it did appertaine vnto him, that they cause this our present declaration, edict and decree, to bee published, euery one in his gouernment, and in the places and boundes, of his or their iurisdiction, where they are accustomed, to make cries and proclamations, to the ende that none may pretende any cause of the ignoraunce thereof: and moreouer that they keepe, obserue, & maintaine, and cause inuiolablie to be kept, obserued, and maintained, all the poyntes and articles therein contayned, according to their forme and tenor, proceeding, & causing to be proceeded therin respectiuely, to the recompẽce, reward, paine & punishmẽt of the persons aboue mentioned, without any fauour, loue, or dissimulation, & for this purpose, and all thinges appertaining thereto, we giue them, and euery one of them, ful power, authoritie, & special cõmaundement, and we charge & commaund al, that they obey thẽ, commaũding the same and that they vnderstand it diligently. And neuertheless, seeing that at this present the saide publications

cannot be made, in the townes, countreis and territories, occupied by the rebellion of the said Orange, wee will that the publications which shalbe made, in the towns nereſt thervnto, being vnder our obeisance, shall be wholy and all together of such force and effect, as if they had bin vtterly done in the circuites and places accustomed, and for such we haue authorised, and by these presentes doe authorise them, yea we will and commaunde, that immediatly they be printed in two sundrie languages, by the sworn printers of our vniuersities of Louain or Douay, to the end that it may more easilie come, to al mens knowledge, and this is our pleasure, appointment, and good will. In witnesse whereof we haue caused our great seale to be put to these presents, which were made in our towne of Maestricht, the xv. day of the moneth of March, and in the yeere of grace 1580. & of our kingdoms, to wit, of Spaine, Sicilia. &c. the xxv. and of Naples the xxvii.

*By the expresse appointment of his Maiestie.*

Verreiken.

*And the said Letters are sealed with the great seale of his Maiestie in redde waxe, and a double lase hanging thereat.*

¶ *The*

# ¶ The Letters of the Prince of Parma to the Gouernors, and Counsellers of the Prouinces commanding the publishing of this proclamation.

*ALEXANDER Prince of PARMA, and of PLAISANCE, &c. Gouernor and Captaine generall.*

*MY COSEN, MOST DEARE AND WELbeloued friends, seeing the K. my Lord hath by 2. seuerall letters of his, very plainly commaunded vs to cause incontinently to be published, in these his countries, the proscription and proclamatiõ annexed hereto, against W. of Nassau Prince of Orange, for the causes contained in the saide Proclamation, we coulde not cease to obay his Maiesties commaundement, & to send the same vnto you, requiring you, and neuertheleſſe, in the name, & on the behalfe of his Maiestie, appointing you, that immediatlie, after yee haue seene the same, you publish it, and cause it to bee published through out all the Townes and places of your Gouernement and iurisdiction, after the accustomed manner, to the end, that none may pretend any cause of the ignorance thereof, and faile yee not herein, and thus my Cosen, most deare and welbeloued friendes, our Lord haue you in his keeping. From MONTS, the 15. day of Iune. 1580.*

*Vnderneath was written ALEXANDER.*
*And signed ouer against it VERREYKEN.*

This was the Superscription of it.

*To the Gouernours and Counsellours. of the Prouinces.*

# THE PRINCE OF Orange, his letters to the ESTATES.

## To my Lordes, the Estates Generall.

YOV HAVE KNOWEN (MY LORDES) BY my life past, and by my behauiours, that I neuer minded to answeare to any libels of defamatiõ, which certayn slaunderers had published against me, in so much as if the qualitie and greatnes of the wrong, which hath beene done against mee by the Proscription that the Kinge of Spaine, hath caused to be published, I had not as yet proceeded so farre, especially had it not bin that the maintenãce of mine honor, had requested the same of me, as I haue more largely laid out the same in my defence, which I haue preſẽted vnto you. Since which time, there is come into my hands a letter very false & counterfait by mine enemy, which they say they intercepted, and I sent to my lord the Duke of Anion, or (as they say) to the Duke of Alançon, whereof some personages amongst them, and that of great qualitie also haue sent copies, as well to certaine townes of our side, & amõgst vs, as to sũdry strãge & forraine princes. This letter my Lords is so fondly written (whether a man regarde the stile thereof or wil respect the matter therin cõtained, which by the bare reading thereof sufficiently bewrayeth, that there is not in it any shew of truth) that such an impudent deuise deserueth no answeare: as also God be praised, there is not found a man amongst vs, which is any whit at al moued therewith. On the other side, euery man hath knowen, that they had no other meaning hereby, but by such mistes and smokes, to darken the brightnes, by which their miserable and pernitious intent against this countrey, hath byn discouered by the letters of Cardinall Granduell and others which you haue commaunded to be printed, after that you knewe their handes, their signes, and their seales, and withall therby, to take vnto thẽ selues an occasion and matter, to cast vp and spew out (according to the manner of shameles women) slaũderous, and wicked speeches, full of lying. But so far of is it, that by this meanes, they haue (in respect of me) obteined that which they preteded, that on the other side, they haue done me greate pleasure, in publishing such follies because that

thereby

thereby they doe more and more iuſtifie and verifie my defence, ſufficiently prouing them ſelues to be ſhameles lyers, moſt impudent ſlaunderers, and moſt fond falſifiers, which ſerueth more and more to iuſtifie (as I haue ſaide) mine innocencie, and to geue approbation to all my actions. For, ſeeing that all men know, that this ſhould be the beſt newes, that they could receaue or heare of, that I would forſake the countrey, and leaue it to them, I offered them (my Lordes) and you vnder my honour, do promiſe them to accomplish it, if they be able to proue in your preſences, that I haue at any time written, or commaunded to be written, ſent ſuch a letter, that preſently I will depart the countrey, and withdraw my ſelfe from it without euer ſetting my ſelfe againſt them: and I promiſe them euen vpon a ſimple and bare requeſt to ſend them ſuch paſſeportes & ſafe conducts & they alſo penned in ſuch order, as eyther they can or will demaund. But yet this ſhalbe with this condition, that if they will not accept this ſo reaſonable an offer, al they which haue bin the authors of ſuch a writing, or which haue publiſhed it, or which haue ſent it, into the townes amõgſt vs, or to forrain Princes, and ſtraunge countreyes, ſhalbe held for lyers, ſlaunderers, wicked ſpeakers, as indeede ſuch they are. Giuen at Delft the 25. of Ianuarie 1581.

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FINIS.